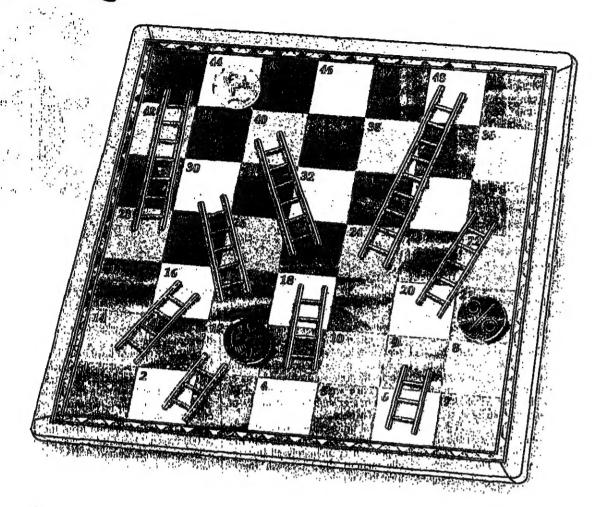
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TheGuardian



Mexico City falls as PRI loses its grip

Phil Gunson in Mexico City

EXICO took a giant leap towards full-scale, multi-party democracy on Tuesday as it awoke to the realisation that the once all-powerful Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) had lost not only control of the capital city but also its majority in the lower house of congress.

Nine years to the day after the PRI mounted a huge fraud to deprive him of the presidency, the veteran leftwinger Cuauhtémoc Cárenas, of the Party of the Democrac Revolution (PRD), celebrated an

With about 48 per cent of the ote, nearly twice as many as his PRI rival, Alfredo del Mazo, Mr Cárdenas becomes the first mayor of Mexico City to be directly elected

"It's a triumph for democracy, a triumph for the people and the delaws will be passed by alliance and nocratic forces, after a long strugile," a beaming Mr Cárdenas told a mexico City's vast central plaza and the scene of many PRD protest objectives would be to consolidate Mexico City's vast central plaza and emonstrations in the past. the separation of powers in a coun-

Nationally, the PRD came close to | try where the presidency has historchallenging the conservative Na-tional Action Party (PAN) as the The PRI chairman, Humberto

country's main opposition. The PAN, Roque Villanueva, sought to downhowever, could console itself with the play the party's devastating setback likelihood of winning two provincial by pointing out that it remained the governorships. If confirmed, PAN largest political force. Mr del Mazo would control six out of 31 states. and the president, Ernesto Zedillo. both recognised the PRD victory in the capital well before the count was The most significant battle was for control of congress, where all 500 seats in the lower house were at complete. President Zedillo said the stake. By early Tuesday it was clear that the PRI had lost its absolute country had taken "an irreversible, definitive and historic step towards majority in the lower house, but it democratic normality". remains the largest single party and

Election observers reported only slight irregularities, although sup-porters of the Zapatista guerrillas in Chiapas — who boycotted the vote - blocked roads and wrecked more than two dozen polling stations.

The mid-term elections also mark

the beginning of the race for the presidency in 2000. Well before the count was over, PAN's contender Vicente Fox announced that his campaign would begin as of now. Mr Cárdenas was equally forth-

right, "We've won the city and we're preparing to win in 2000," he said.

Labour criticised as Ulster erupts

HE British government de ago to allow the controversial Drumeree Orange parade to go ahead in Portadown last weekend because it was "the least worst option", according to a confidential Northern Ireland Office document.

The march, which passed without incident after the police and army moved into a Catholic area of the city to clear the road of protesters, led to an eruption of violence throughout Northern Ireland and set back the few remaining hopes of peace in the province.

The document reveals that the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mo-Mowlam, reached a consensus with the chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Ronnic Flanagan, supported by the army and the Parades Commission, that the Portadown Orange parade should be al-lowed through the mainly Catholic Garvaghy Road if no local agree-

ment was achieved. However, Ms Mowlam Insisted on Tuesday that the leaked document was purely an initial consideration by officials. She said that she had worked until the last moment to find a "peaceful accommodation" between the two sides, and had not en-

dorsed the document "at any time". Reacting to Garvaghy residents accusations that she had betrayed them, Ms Mowlam insisted: "No one has been betrayed." But that was not the feeling among nationalists. A senior SDLP figure put it succinctly: "She has wrecked any chance there was left of rebuilding

the peace process."

While the document makes no mention of Mr Flanagan's claim that his decision to let the march go ahead was prompted by intelligence reports indicating that loyalist paramilitaries would kill Catholics if the parade was banned, the death of an Ulster Defence Association member on Monday night was another indicator of mounting instability in Northern Ireland. The loyalist blew himself up while handling a bomb.

virtually no tax on transactions

would also have an unfair cost

advantage over traditional traders

The emergence of the document



WE COURTY

When the continue in the continue in

Mo Mowlam: credibility damaged

left nationalists with further doubts about the sincerity of the Labour government's approaches and as surances in recent weeks

Meanwhile the death of 28-year old Brian Morton, believed to have been a member of the UDA, indicates that the loyalist ceasefire, already under pressure from continuing IRA attacks including the double murder of RUC officers in Lurgan, Co Armagh, last month, is crumbling

under the pressure of recent events With the marching season set to reach its peak at the weekend, Ms Mowlam appealed to Orangemen on Monday to show "generosity"

the dangerous days ahead. The logic of last Sunday's events suggests that peace in Northern Ireland has a price after all, and when two opposing forces cannot be rec-onciled, that necessarily involves one side losing out to the other.

PM stages coup In Cambodia	3
Che's body found in Bolivian jungle	.5

Sky the limit for **US** defence sales

10

Tory sleaze: it's official

Hollywood loses two of its greats

	Austria Belgium Denmark France Germany Greece Italy	AS30 BF75 DK16 FM 10 FF 13 DM 4 DR 450 L 3,000	Portugal Saudi Arabia Spain Sweden	NK 18 E300
<u>. '</u>	lialy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF33

Clinton promotes Internet as free-trade zone

"For the first time in the 20th cen-

tury . . . we have the possibility of an

active chamber [of deputies]," com-

mented the novelist Carlos Fuentes.

He said the lower house "will take initiatives, instead of simply receiv-

Anticipating a parliament where

consensus, rather than executive fiat, the PAN's national president, Felipe Calderón, called for parties to

ing initiatives from the executive".

Nicholas Bannister

RESIDENT Bill Clinton has opened the way for a huge boost in electronic commerce by underlining his determination to urn the Internet into a "global ree-trade zone".

But his decision could pit him gainst US state officials and ropean authorities who see nternet trading as a new source if tax revenue.

Mr Clinton promised last

within a year and set out a 13-point plan to achieve his goal, including negotiation of an international agreement making the Internet a tariff-free zone for the sale of products and services; federal purchase of

4 million items online, in order to bring government procurement into the electronic age: development of industry codes of conduct and technology tools

week to have policies on privacy, to protect privacy online; and patents and copyright in place is assurance from domestic and essurance from domestic and foreign governments that no new taxes would be levied on Internet transactions. Many governments are concerned that Internet trading,

which takes no account of national boundaries and which is virtually impossible to police, would result in a big decline in income from sales taxes; value added taxes and customs duties." Internet traders paying

However, Mr Clinton is under pressure to take action from American business, which fears that companies based in other countries could steal the lead

begin to dominate trading on the He and Vice President Al Gore endorsed a presidential task force's call for a hands-off, nonew-taxes approach to regulating business transactions on the worldwide computer network.

the US enjoys in this field and

ATCHING the Hong Kong | human life, the defence of human freedoms and the protection of the freedoms and the protection of the waited expectantly for a word of make for a just society; and that apology from the Prince of Wales these are more fundamental values for the acts of gangsterism that led than a steadily increasing GNP. Yet to the signing of the first Sinoour voice is greatly weakened by British treaties and the annexation the fact that those in the West who of Hong Kong. None was forthcoming. Nor did any of the British also profess these values fail to speakers or television commenta apply them to their nations' dealings tors remind us of the onlum trade with our nations. "Free trade" and "open markets" - the rhetoric of into China in the mid-19th century the opium wars - continue to be and the massive profits from this imposed indiscriminately by Westtrade that accrued to British merern powers through such instituchant houses, some of the most tions as the World Bank, overriding prestigious names in Hong Kong representative governments and the grass-roots democracies that the

To the best of my knowledge, no British government has ever apologies for these acts. Surely what brings about reconciliation and trust (between nations as much as individuals) is mutual penitence, confession and forgiveness. And Britain, despite the posture of moral superiority it now assumes over China, has a disgraceful record of aggression, hypocrisy and the violation of basic human rights. For much of its history, Hong Kong was a gigantic sweat-shop with no labour unions, primitive labour laws and a censored media. Even today, a huge chunk of the wealth of the city i concentrated in the hands of a few expatriate and local tycoons.

When the British draw attention only to the economic success of Hong Kong, speaking of its "economic dynamism" and "stability", they simply mirror the cynical pragmatism of the Chinese regime. The latter also justifies its denial of human rights by pointing to economic prosperity and social "stabil-

There are people like myself in | ill-famed Tiananmen, usually trans-Asia who believe that the sanctity of | lated as Gate of Heavenly Peace, is

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more accurately rendered into English as Gate of Imperial Pacification: what is not pacified is destroyed, as we saw. In China's principal colonies, Tibet and Turkestan (which put to shame in size and destitution even the worst of Britain's last polka dots), people do not need to be reminded of this. Timon Screech,

Gakushuin University, Tokyo, Japan

IEW ZEALANDERS do not kow-V tow to anybody (Hong Kong: the endgame, June 22). Being realistic is surely preferable to acting like a spoilt brat whose new toy has been taken away.

However, it will certainly be a different story, if the SAR Legislature decide to treat Hong Kong residents with British passports as shabbily as British governments have treated Hong Kong Chinese wishing to reside in Britain. Peter Watson,

Riwaka Valley, New Zealand

West professes to stand for. Hi-tech

armaments, tobacco and pornogra-

phy continue to be among the major

exports of the West to the rest of the

The restoration of Hong Kong to

nity for British (and American)

moral self-scrutiny. That would have

encouraged the defenders of human

rights in Asia far more than any

WE LEARN from Ian Black's interesting article (Britain finds it hard to shake off DTs, June 29)

that including three desert islands, even after July 1 Britain has 13 De-

pendent Territories. But the real

issue of the return of Hong Kong is

China's obdurate and fixed one -

for make no mistake, the People's

2 years

Tick box if this is a renewal order 🔾

583

ingoistic China-bashing.

Colombo, Sri Lanka

(Dr) Vinoth Ramachandra,

Canada faces China could have been an opportua stable future

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER is wind in describing Canada as "well ordered and civil" (Learning the Lessons From Canada's Fracture, June 15). However, he needs help with his analysis of the state of our union. Canadians are fortunate to have more choices politically

than just an elephant and a donkey.

Although the Reform Party holds strength in the west, almost all of that is in Alberta and British Columnot Britain's shrinking empire, but bia, not Saskatchewan or Manitoba. The Tories ("Progressive Conservatives" — a Canadian oxymoron) Republic is an empire. It is relevant rule in Atlantic Canada, and combined with the re-emerged New Dein this regard that the name of the mocratic Party can hardly be written off as "feeble". In Quebec, although the Bloc Québécois still predominates, voter support has de-The Guardian

Canada's future has its uncertainties, but the Canadian identity is sensible, tolerant, caring, peaceful, courteous and moderate to the point that our national image to some others is boring. Our national debt is decreasing. Our citizens are universally insured for their medical needs in a still excellent health care

around most of our cities is improvlng. For four years in a row, the United Nations has suggested that Canada is the most desirable place to live on the planet. Canada is no Xanadu, but there is no impending mplosion, just periodic sucking noises from media vacuity, and some occasional gentle thunder, which will pass.

Philip F Hall, Manitoba, Canada

The dirty secrets of rich nations

READ with some interest Paul Callomon's letter (June 22) in response to Kevin Sullivan (Cost of Economic Equality Questioned, June 8). First, while there is truth in both viewpoints - that income levels are more equal in Japan than in most industrialised countries, but on the other hand much of Japan's poverty and social ills are hidden the argument is largely superfluous

Sullivan's article is but one more | Paris, France

among a deluge printed in the American media to highlight the ills of "paying the price to maintain. equality". The thrust of the article, let it be understood, is part of an agenda in many news corporations that even journalists of integrity are so much embedded in, they hardly notice how much they now tow the corporate line. Whether the picture of Japan is true or not, the reader is bliged to take it in that, "if it is to .. remain competitive, Japan will

rave to adopt reforms that will create an income gap more like that of other rich trading nations". Note the liberal use of the word "rich" here, and understand that those who are not full-fledged members of "rich nations", who do not receive the benefits of the trickle-down, hardly

When Japan finally gets the message like the rest of us, and allows market forces to work more freely", it will at last conjoin with those civilised nations, of which the United States can be upheld as the supreme example, where market forces blow as freely as the wind and tide, while inner cities rot through to the core.

By that time, well-meaning men of "liberal" conscience such as Sullivan will no doubt be wringing their hands, as they do over Latin America, at the sad inevitability, while "many observer" will be quoted to tell us that the government "cannot continue to subsidise the poor" . . . if that is, to paraphrase Herbert Spencer, the "fittest" are themselves able to survive that long. Stephen Douglas,

FVIN SULLIVAN'S article saddens and frustrates me. Why are social programmes which help disadvantaged people considered old-fashioned and ill-advised? A society surely grows and matures more by sharing rather than by hoarding, and by love and compassion more than by greed. Where are

Hyogo-ken, Japan

securities?

AK Hellum, Sherwood Park, Alberta, Canada

we heading with our egocentric in-

HIV and the risk to the unborn

MIKE KELLY reports that an HIV-infected pregnant woman "had an abortion when tests revealed that the unborn child was HIV positive" (Aids woman speaks of fateful affair, June 1). It is important to note that since unborn children of HIV-infected women carry their mother's antibodies, standard tests are unable to detect whether transmission of HIV infection to an unborn child has occurred. This

only becomes clear after childbirth. In industrialised countries studies have shown that, on average, for evera ton urrawomen, between 10 and 25 transmit infection to their child, either before or at birth. It is not possible to predict, with certainty, which women will transmit infection.

Some factors may reduce the probability of transmission, including birth by caesarean section and a shortened period of breastfeeding. Recent studies have shown that drugs taken during pregnancy, which reduce the level of HIV in the woman's body fluids, can also reduce the likelihood of transmission. (Dr) Noah Jamie Robinson, ANRS Fellow in Aids Research,

Briefly

MAJORITY rule without miner ity rights seems to have an

with the British government alon ing the Drumcree march Sub the role of the police and armystal maintain law and order rather to bow to the will of the majoring. In Cambodia we see the impate

factions intent on domination plan than co-operation. While the Day cree march was proceeding. Pine Penh residents were sheltering their homes or fleeing the city these political factions fought ed Geoffrey Coyne,

Phnom Penh, Cambodia

ELAINE SHOWALTER Gune? people . . . refuse to abandor the general loyalty' to Freud'. Forth same reason probably that some refuse to abandon their generally alty to astrology or Catholicies whatever: the need for solace dur titude somewhere. Bernard Delfendahl,

La Roques sur Pernes, France

TONY BLAIR warns Sim I once more that "the settler: train is leaving". Meanwhile ! Clinton cautions that "the lasleaving". Could this be an argue for an integrated transport system Chris Kennedy. Handforth, Cheshire

IF YOU remain puzzled Jonathan Aitken needed to our up his stay at the Ritz beyond ic ple excuse, I continue to was why the man whose biograph wrote, Richard Nixon, never stroyed the incriminating Water tapes with a simple excuse about malfunctioning recording system Richard Herbert,

CAILING the Norfolk Broads O became obvious to my with I that we . . . should never ke loose in charge of a boat says Evans (Broad appeals, June 21 don't know about that, but it is ous to I that him and her should be let loose in charge of my writer; not to the Broads at 15 Here in Brooklyn, maybe.

Brian A Jones, Brooklyn, New York, USA

A S A weedy grad with high ankles and a thesis to size was devastated by Lezard's cruel comment (%) backs, June 15). Should I and stimulants, give up on my hear just accept being a Weakly"?

The Guarda

July 13, 1997 Copyright @ 1997 by Guardien P. United Kingdom, All rights reserved Annual subscription rates are EQU Kingdom; £55 Europe Inc. Fire ISA Canada; £63 Rest of World Letters to the Editor and other start Canada; £63 Rest of World correspondence to: The Guirden 1997 75 Ferringdon Road; London EU 1899 Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (JK: 0171-289) e-mail: weekly@guerdlen.cq.uk.ii

Cambodia troops loot ravaged city

Nick Cumming-Bruce n Phnom Penh

HNOM PENH became a robbers' paradise on Monday with triumphant soldiers of the second prime minister, Hun Sen, leading the charge while television endlessly replayed a long statement by their boss justifying his coup last weekend.

The fighting erupted when Hun Sen unleashed an operation which he claimed was meant to stabilise Cambodia by mopping up illicit weapon stores, curbing illegal troop novements and preventing Khmer Rouge forces being brought into the

The charred bodies of at least 10 soldiers still lay in bullet-riddled vehides outside the home of a royalist general, as macabre evidence of the hitter fighting unleashed by his butsch against the first prime miniser, Prince Norodom Ranariddh.

But the fighting was not all onesided. The corpses of four of Hun Sen's soldiers lay outside a temple, one bound and gagged. The bodies of two other soldiers lay by the side the main road to the airport, bandoned like the three burnt-out anks scattered nearby.

Their comrades-in-arms clearly had a more rewarding mission on their minds. The death toll has risen to 32, military and civillan, and seems certain to rise. But free enterprise was the name of the game on Monday, not brooding on the price of the coup.

Sporadic gunfire crackled around the city, but with Phnom Penh firmly in the grip of Hun Sen's troops, military lorries were tling away from the airport laden with everything from furniture to otorcycles.

Military transports were not suflicient for the task. Soldiers commandeered an airport bus bearing the logo of the national airline while others emerged on motorcycles nder tow, bringing trade to nearby

ian Traynor in Bonn and Ian Black in Londor

ERMANY has reopened its in

combing because of allegations -

letails of which are being withheld

rom Scottish authorities — by a

senior Tehran intelligence defector

who blames Iran and not Libya for

The agent's claims contradict the

But German investigators are

the new testimony to those mount-

Monday's edition of the weekly

news magazine, Der Spiegel.

Behind the German stance, the

stigating the 1988 outrage.

vestigation into the Lockerbie

It was not the kind of genesis to

ockerbie inquiry reopened

ing a Lockerbie prosecution in Scot- via London's Heathrow airport in

and differences between Bonn and in Germany and elsewhere.

and and the US; according to reprisal for the US downing of a

seeking to sell to local and international opinion. Hour after hour, television showed him in the uniform of i four-star general, denigrating his erstwhile co-prime minister as "the raitor Ranariddh".

An offer of mediation by King Norodom Sihanouk had come "too late". Hun Sen said, "because Ranariddh is illegal and a criminal and the Phnom Penh court is preparing to charge him".

This was not a coup, he insisted, adding that he was not seeking to become first prime minister, a job assigned to the royalist Funcinpec party after it won a majority in 1993 elections. He was willing to work with anyone Funcinpec selected for the job - except Prince Ranariddh.

This is a coup d'état and as coup organisers do, he is scrambling around for some legitimacy," a Western analyst said. "The only question left is whether the internaional community will fall for it."

Prince Ranariddh, who is in France, is embarking on an internalional odyssey to try to ensure it does not. He was due to meet President Jacques Chirac this week and plans to travel to Washington before setting off on a tour of Southeast Asian capitals.

His former followers in Phnom Penh, however, seemed willing to ease Hun Sen's task. Several went surreptitiously to Funcingee members' houses to see who would agree to what with the new leader of

Resistance came mainly from hardline military leaders. The top royalist commander, General Nhek Bunchhay, apparently managed to escape to the provinces. One of his old comrades was said to be rallying loyalist forces in the northwest, long regarded by Funcinpec as a possible fall-back position. They may yet prove a thorn in the flesh of the Phnom Penh government, particularly if they link with former anti-Hun Sen allies in the Khmer Rouge.

Washington on policy towards fran.

It quotes a German investigator as

saying that the material would be re-leased only when it had been fully

Abolhassem Mesbahi, aged 39,

the Iranian intelligence defector

who was also an aide to former

President Ali Hashemi Rafsanjani.

has told German investigators dur-

United States for the explosion that downed a PanAm jumbo jet over southern Scotland, killing 270 people.

But German invasting to forge consensus among key players, leaving him in a difficult position. A proposal to create a coordinated development group masterminded the attack. But Mr

under orders not to give details of organised the downing of PanAm lation Activities, the UN Children's

civilian Iranian aircraft five months

Mr Mesbahi, who fled to Europe

magazine says, are longstanding dis- from Iran in 1995; is regarded as a | boiled over at a meeting this month.

greements over the Lockerbie plot | credible and senior Iranian source | The meeting turned into a shouting

before the Lockerbie atrocity.

checked, probably in the autumn.

But Prince Ranariddh, whose weak leadership has been a key contributory factor to Cambodia's instaboost the image of the new-look | bility, may find he has few firm | along the road to the airport of government Hun Sen, aged 49, was | friends abroad, despite coming to | every fitting, down to the petrol

ing lengthy debriefings that Iran was behind the terrorist bomb, Der week, but his reform team has failed

Mesbahi says that Iran ordered and | Programme, the UN Fund for Popu-

flight 103 to America from Frankfurt | Fund and the economic depart-

stymied.



rival prime ministers

United Nations \$2 billion.

Western governments have re nained ominously silent in the face of Hen Sen's violent seizure of power and the large number of lives sacrificed to achieve it.

Governments of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations met on Monday to consider developments in a country they are due to admit to their club later this month. The group may choose to overlook its role in bringing Prince Ranariddh to power if it believes Hun Sen can sta-bilise the country for business.

Not that his ambition has benefited business much in recent days. Looters stripped petrol stations

ROSPECTS for an overhaul of

ian and development agencies look

bleak as the secretary general, Kofi

Annan, meets fierce opposition

from department heads unwilling to

Mr Annan is to unveil his propos-

ments of the UN Secretariat has

been gutted, and reform of UN hu-

manitarian activities has been

Opposition to the reform effort

match as Maurice Strong, the Cana- him.

yield control over their fieldoms.

the United Nations' humanitar-

Mark Tran in New York

UN reform resisted

ower in an election that cost the | pumps. Behind the gates of the Cambodia garment factory, soldiers helped themselves.

Cambodia has paid a much higher price for the coup at Phnom Penh airport, reduced by rockets and robbers to a rubbish tip of smashed plate glass and debris.

"Hello mister," said a soldier brandishing a bottle of Jim Beam as a colleague wrestled a desk on to a motorcycle-drawn cart and a third slung bags full of Japanese-language books on his motorbike.

They were latecomers. Looters had ong since ransacked the terminals. making off with computers, telephones, even weighing machines. Officials claim the airport will be open to flights in a day or two, but airline

dian leading the reform effort, was

attacked by Nafis Sadiq, the head of UNFPA, and Carol Bellamy, the

"It was a very nasty meeting. Peo-

le were shouting at each other.

Therefore we have been obliged to

find the lowest common denomina

tor," said one UN official. "This all

started with so much expectation

and, if there is no substantive

change, governments will be quite

the UN cannot reform itself,"

ointed. People will think

The US will be watching to see

what emerges from the current UN

reform effort. The Clinton adminis-

tration and Congress have agreed a

plan to pay \$819 million in arrears to

the UN over the next three years -

but only if the UN has undertaken

significant reform, cutting expendi-

ture and reducing the US share of

consensus on how to proceed on

reform, Mr Annan will this weekend

study the various options before

its budget. In the absence of

head of Unicef.

The Week

S OJOURNER, a robot rover atop the US Pathfinder craft that landed on Mars, has begun its probe of the planet. Washington Post, page 15

C HINA and Russia have become the world's leading suppliers of the technologies of mass destruction, according to the CIA in a report to Congress. Washington Post, page 15

A COMMISSION investigating Canada's worst military scandal concluded that senior officers had lied and attempted to cover up the killing of a Somall civilian in 1993. Washington Post, page 15

A SPANISH prison officer, José Antonio Ortega, was freed by police after being held in a tiny bunker for 522 days by the Basque separatist group ETA.

HILIPPE Séguin, the former national assembly leader who led French opposition to the Manatricht treaty, was elected president of the Gaullist RPR to replace Alain Juppé.

A JUDGE in Karachi charged
Asif Zardari, husband of Pakistan's ex-prime minister. Benezir Bhutto, with ordering the murder of her extranged brother.

NRIQUE Gorriarán, a left-wing rebel and the self-proclaimed assassin of Nicaragua's deposed dictator, Anastasio Somoza, was convicted and sentenced to life in prison for leading an assault on an Argentine army base that killed 39 people

THE UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, is to organise a new mission to investigate massacres in Congo (formerly Zaire), a move that human rights groups say gives in to President Kabila's objections to the original mission

A BOUT \$12 million from a fund set up by Swiss banks and firms will go immediately to needy Holocaust victims in east-

VALERY SINTSOV, a former top Russian defence industry official was convicted of spying for Britain and sentenced to 10 years in a high-security prison camp, Itar-Tass news agency reported.

OLLYWOOD mourned the passing of two of its greatest stars -- actors James Stewart. aged 80, and Robert Mitchum, aged 69 - who died within two days of each other.

Obituaries, page 26

D UNCAN WALKER, a British radiologist working in Brisbane, has been granted permanent residence in Australia after being initially refused because his two-year-old daughter has cerebral palsy.

Stacy Marking in Vallegrands

Cruz, and came to an abrupt halt.

the driver, whom the officers would

The disposal of the bodies of

Ernesto "Che" Guevara, the Argen-

tine-born revolutionary, and six of

his guerrillas was indeed private, so

much so that almost 30 years

passed before their remains were

After a painstaking survey of the

area where the secret burial was

thought to have taken place, a site

was found that had once been dug

up by a bulldozer. Here, on June 28,

Bolivians working with Cuban and

Argentine scientists opened a trough

Over the next few days the skele-

tal remains of seven men were un-

covered. A skull, thought to be

Guevara's, is partly exposed at the

pottom of a 2m-deep pit, covered by

a khaki military jacket. The skeleton

nas no hands — Guevara's were said

Alejandro Inchaurregui, a member

f the team of Cuban and Argentine

experts, said last week that they had

ound a common grave "in which all

o have been cut off before burial.

in which they found human bones.

only ever know as Ticona.

iscovered last month.

N THE early hours of October

Nato tries to paper over the cracks

lan Black in Madrid and David Fairhall

EEKING to head off a damaging public row on the question of eastwards enlargement, top Nato diplomats met on Monday to try to reach agreement before membership invitations were expected to be issued to former communist countries at Tues day's Madrid summit.

As President Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and other leaders arrived in the Spanish capital under heavy security, political directors from the alliance's 16 members were hammering out an acceptable way of wording the agreement to defuse the looming internal crisis over

This would mean making clear that the invitations were only the start of a process that could eventually include other aspiring Nato members from the old Warsaw Pact and beyond.

The row stems from Mr Clinton's insistence that only three new members - Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic - should join, "I believe that the consensus decision will be for three, but I hope and believe there will be a clear message that the door to Nato remains open," said the United States president, who flew in from a weekend break with King Juan Carlos in

France, Italy, and several other countries are smarting over highhanded US behaviour and would like Romania and Slovenia to be included. Diplomats were braced for angry words from the French president. Jacques Chirac, who has frozen an earlier decision to rejoln the Nato military structure that President de Gaulle left in 1966. Britain is trying to bridge the yawn-

ing gap between France and the US. However, if membership of Nato were based on military competence, the alliance would be inviting Romania and Slovenia to join instead of Hungary and the Czech Republic.

The alliance's military assessments uphold Poland's candidacy with reservations — but are critical of the other two countries making up the first group of east European

Hungary and the Czech Republic have been condemned as "thoroughly incompetent" in Nato's confidential military assessment.

Contrary to declarations by Western political leaders that new members must contribute to the alliance's security as well as benefit from it, it will take many years to transform remnants of the former

The best the apathetic Czech and Hungarian forces could currently manage is a couple of battalions apiece and a handful of fighter air-

The Polish army, with a proud military tradition, could do a lot better than that. But like its Czech and Hungarian counterparts, it still suffers from decades of enforced subservience to the former Warsaw Pact's Soviet-dominated command

Barracks and airfields are in the wrong places, laid out to defend against Nato attack or support an invasion of western Europe. Warsaw Pact armies became bloated with middle-ranking officers but desperately short of non-commissioned officers, the experienced sergeants and corporals who form the backbone of Nato units.

All this makes the radical reform that all three countries' armed forces need extremely difficult. Token moves to demonstrate democratic control of the armed forces by putting civilians at the head of their defence ministries have not addressed the underlying problems.

Cash to pay off redundant officers, relocate bases and purchase Nato-compatible equipment is in short supply, and much of what there is may well be squandered on new combat aircraft and other expensive kit that Western arms

nanufacturers are rushing to sell. Meanwhile a US-European clash over the sensitive question of the three Baltic states - and former Soviet republics — is increasingly likely with the US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, flying to Lithuania after the summit, and Mr Clinton travelling on to Poland and Romania.

"We would hope that both in the communiqué and also in what is said by individual leaders in Madrid there would be a very strong signal that the Baltic states are eligible and that they will be encouraged to pursue their aspirations for membership," said a US source.

Nato says enlargement will for-mally end the division of Europe that was initialled after the second world war by Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt at Yalta in Crimea.

The process requires careful nanagement because of Russia's objections - despite the special charter it signed with Nato in May. President Yeltsin, conspicuously, is not coming to Madrid. Critics warn that Nato may be in danger of creating new divisions.



Monday as police fired tear gas to break up protest rallies across Kenya.

Officers used live ammu and tear gas and clubbed demonstrators who defied a ban and gathered in Nairobi and six other towns to demand reform.

At least eight people, including a policeman, were killed. More than 100 people were arrested for looting and rioting in the worst violence since the latest campaign for democratic reform began three months ago. In Nairobi, police pursued

demonstrators during street

battles, even entering the Anglican All Saints Cathedrals fire four tear gas canisters.

Police said they killed only two people who were lootings bank in Thika, north of Naioli Witnesses and media reports said that police had killed at least five people. -AP

Israeli soldiers go undercover in Hebron

EYEWITNESS

Julian Borger in Hebron

ARD for dusty, littered yard, it must be the most closely watched stretch of asphalt on the planet. At 10am on Thursday last week, the world's photographers and cameramen gathered as usual at a tea shop on the street corner where a fortified Jewish enclave has been chiselled into Hebron's old

By 10.30 clusters of Palestinian boys aged from eight to 16 began to form, running in and out of the shoppers collecting stones and weighing them in their slingshots. Over the next hour a score of these lads would set the news agenda for the Middle East.

A few days earlier, in this same corner of the market, a 26-year-old Jewish Russian immigrant, Tatyana Suskin, won international notoriety (and a rebuke from the White House) by pinning up a cartoon of a pig scrawled with the name of the prophet Mohammed. Ms Suskin was charged last week.

The Palestinians have begun using pipe-bombs — lengths of metal pipe stuffed with explosives - one of which cut the legs of two Israeli soldiers to shreds. The Israeli Defence Force (IDF) has retaliated with live ammunition, and there are Palestinian boys in Hebron's hospital to prove it.

Last week, the Israeli defence | the crowd and yet suddenly seeminister, Yitzhak Mordechai, had | different, more robust. A ferithreatened to use "an iron fist" if the rioting did not cease.

shrugged the cafe proprietor and his regulars. The answer, it turned out, was already in their midst. At 10.45, as the heat settled in Hebron's alleyways, the first stones of the day headed towards the con-

"What more can they do to us?"

crete-reinforced edges of the Jewish settlement, causing consternation mong the shopkeepers. "Wait, in the name of God, wait," shouted an ironmonger whose shop stood in the line of fire. "Let us do

some business first." He was fighting a lost cause. By Ham older teenagers and young men had joined in. Elderly men, their traditional authority leached away long ago by the daily violence. scurried away up the street.

They expected a stampede of Isaeli troops and a hail of rubber bullets but by 11.15 it had still not come. So much for the iron fist. The market boys grew bolder, venturing ever closer to the gates of the settlement. At 11.30, with still no response

ag and set fire to it. Pandemonium broke out. Some o he men in the throng turned on the flag-burner and a handful of stonethrowers, wrestling them to the ground. There was a moment of confusion - these men had been part of

different, more robust. A fer i. taken off their shirts to use as me-

In a few seconds it all bec violently clear. Proops can out: behind their barricades to assign mystery men, pointing guns at heads of the struggling rioters I crowd evaporated as Israeli to; converged from every angle.

raged. "What are you going to:

Don't you think that something!

changed here? Isn't it getting to

The Swedes refused to come

They knew what it meant to be?

of a toothless international mist

having served with the UN Pre

It was 1pm and outside thek

had regrouped and stones si

bouncing off the hot tar road.

regular crack of Israeli rifles by

coalition on Monday by pass

over Ariel Sharon, a hawkish

general linked to massacrei

serious," she yelled.

tion Force in Bosnia.

the bodies were dumped in the same By noon, a couple of Swelnoment". Some were wearing crude sandals, others had military boots. observers in grey uniforms are "The theory . . . that these are the Patches on their arms spek out ordies of Che and his comrades is of the international communication trong, but we still have to underlamer acronyms: TIPH, Tempr: ake the work of identification." International Presence in Hebre A TV-Bahrain reporter was e-

Last weekend the forensic team ransferred the remains to a laborafory. Mr Inchaurregui expects the identification of Guevara to be comleted this week.

One further detail has already strengthened the belief that the remains found are Guevara's: in a pocket of the jacket that had covered ae skeleton with no hands are traces of plaster of Paris. On the | Bones thought to be those of Che Guevara, who was buried ame evening that Guevara's hands | sent around the world in 1967

were amputated - to provide evidence for propaganda purposes that he was indeed dead — death masks were made by a doctor at the Valle-grande hospital. The plaster traces 11, 1967, two junior officers of could be a residue from that process.

the Bolivian army were shaken awake and told to board a lorry The revolutionary, a one-time confidant of the Cuban leader Fidel Castro, had come to Bolivia in 1966 waiting outside. Two hours later, it bumped down a crude road to the airstrip at Vallegrande, a mountain town about 250km west of Santa to spark a continental revolution by Marxists against "Yankee imperialism". His capture and execution Mario Vargas Salinas, then aged came after an abortive 11-month 30, demanded to know what was guerrilla campaign and was a soligoing on. A private burial, replied tary victory for the Bolivian army, nelped by the United States' CIA Pictures of the dead hero, a potent icon for a generation in the West,

were wired around the world. Trussed with his own belt, Guevara was shot by Mario Teran, an army sergeant who had lost three friends to Guevara's guerrilla army the previous day. He did so in the presence of a Cuban-American agent for the CIA and on the order of the then president, General Rene Barrientos, in a schoolroom in the hamlet of La Higuera.

The next day, to prevent decomposition, the body was flown 80km to the Vallegrande hospital of Nucstro Señor de Malta, where a doctor slit its throat and injected it with

Slung on to a concrete washing slab in the laundry room, brown eyes still open, the guerrilla who was to inspire a generation of student revolutionaries lay on view to the world's press and a troop of curious locals. (The word among the hospital's nuns who washed the body was that he looked like Christ. Several women

took clippings of his hair and beard.) Twenty-four hours later, the body was removed from view. Soon afterwards Guevara's brother Roberto travelled to the hospital to collect the remains. He was told it was too late - the body had been cremated.

The amputated hands eventually reached Cuba, but the whereabouts of his body remained a mystery — and a Bolivian state secret.

There matters remained until Mario Vargas, now a general, broke his silence to Guevara's biographer - who very nearly did not ask the right question, "Enough time has passed, and it's time the world knew," Gen Vargas told Jon Lee Anderson at his home in Santa Cruz n November 1995.

Mr Lee Anderson had already spent three years working on his biography, Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life, and had expected the interview to be uneventful. Indeed, he knew only that the former officer

had been stationed near Vallegrand at the time of Guevara's death.

Towards the end of the interview as he was putting his notebool away, Mr Lee Anderson asked him: "By the way, what happened to Clie's body?" Gen Vargas replied: "Well, I've been wanting to tell

Neither of them realised how momentous the confession, detailing the exact time and place of the burial, would be. Gen Vargas unburdened himself, describing how, once the three men had arrived at the airstrip, Ticona disappeared only to reappear some time later driving a buildozer.

"He dug the mass grave, brough the dump truck with the cadavers, dumped the cadavers, then brought the tractor and smoothed it over.' he told the biographer.

Still only halfway through his research, the author realised he could not hold on to the story until his book was published (in the UK to great acclaim in April by ransworld, in the US this month). A former journalist for Time magazine, he wrote up the interview for the New York Times. At which point all hell broke loose.

The Bolivian army denounced him, claiming he had got Gen

Vargas drunk. When Gen Vargas denied he had been drinking, they claimed Mr Lee Anderson had made up lies to promote his book. As he was yet to write the first chapter, it seemed unlikely, but under pressure from the press he produced his tape recording of the conversation (which for security he kept with him at all times in hi

Once the recording was made public, Gen Vargas ran away and is now apparently in Colombia under 'house arrest'

Besieged by the press, Bolivia's President Gonzalo Sánchez de ozada formed a conunission to find the bodies and return them to the families. But the military, furious with Gen Vargas for his betrayal, dragged its boots - digging began in November 1995.

As Mr Lee Anderson writes in the introduction to his book: "The ensuing public spectacle of former guerrillas, soldiers and forensic experts digging holes on the out-skirts of Vallegrande as gawking crowds gathered and newsmen prowled for quotes reopened many wounds in the country."

After four weeks, four corpses had been found - but all of them had hands. The trail to Guevara's corose went cold.

Desperate to prevent Guevara's grave from becoming a worldwide shrine, the army continued to lie. But Cuban government forensic experts and historians intensified the effort. They scanned the earth with mapping equipment to detect "anomalies". In May they prepared to dig in places where, they had liscovered, earth had been disturbed by a bulldozer.

But their work was halted for six weeks when the town passed an ordinance forbidding further excavation. Local authorities wanted the bones of Guevara and his contrades to remain where they lay, and planned to creet a mausoleum. Digging finally resumed last month.

The recovery of the body means that the man who launched a million student posters may at last be buried with due honours.

"Most probably, the body will be taken back to Cuba, where it will be given a state (uneral," says Mr Lee Anderson, who had been given access to Guevara's personal archives through the co-operation of Che's second wife and widow, Aleida, who lives in Cuba with her family.



secretly after pictures of his corpse were

Albania sorely in need of a trusty policeman marking off the remains of thet' from the IDF, a grinning Palestinian • The Israeli prime mini n his early 20s produced an Israeli Binyamin Netanyahu, bowel makes steel. The locked works sur- | the country's gang-infested roads. COMMENT pressure from moderates in

Jonathan Steele

↑ LMOST everybody has a soft \spot for tortoises. So raise your Lebanon in 1982, for the post hats to the gallant Italian army medics occupying the Albanian Naval Academy in Vlore who have set up a clinic for the creatures.

infections that afflict this looted city. The trouble is that this assiduous rtoise-tending is not a sentimental aterlude in an otherwise busy over. Under the legendary engine in an otherwise busy william Mulholland, the city with looking after patients in the Viore region's miserably equipped hospitals. It is almost all the Italian doctors do. The mandate of Europe's Multinational Protection Force (MPF) does not allow its per-

sonnel to assist Albanian civilians. Some 125km away, the town of Elbasan hosts a huge refinery for ferro-chrome and nickel. Most of it

vived the looting spree in March, and it was only a few weeks ago that criminal gangs stripped out machinery for sale abroad.

They also gutted a furniture factory, then took whatever modern office equipment, telephones, and lighting they could find in the town, according to Eduart Kila, the head "Europe should have taken mea-

sures to protect the economy by guarding state and public buildings, but the Protection Force has a base here and does nothing," he muttered. Like S-For, the Nato-led force in

Bosnia, Europe's troops in Albania spend most of their time protecting themselves. They sit in overfortified camps or occasionally move out in convoy. This month their boredom lifted briefly as they escorted other foreigners to observe elections. Their self-imposed

In Bosnia the S-For peace-keepers have similarly failed miserably to help in the country's most urgent task of civil reconstruction. S-For, however, can make a better case for its reticence. The risk of bloodshed is high in Bosnia — the opposing sides comprise heavily

armed combat veterans. Albania's violence, on hand, is a more recent phenomenon. The threat comes from less well-armed, relatively untrained gangs, often comprising about halfadozen thugs and a few score teenagers. One experienced observer believes the MPF could de-stroy them fairly easily. The MPF, he says, should adopt aggressive nolice methods - even snatchsquads — to remove the leaders. The gangs would crumble.
The outside world can take som

satisfaction from the defeat of Presiclosed when communism collapsed, guard polling stations or oversee the except for a small branch that transport of completed ballots along states perhaps more than Europe. system and the monopolies.

The US was tougher than the Euro-peans on Mr Berisha even before he stole the election in May 1996. After that fiasco, which the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe first tried to cover up by toning down criticisms in its election report, Washington kept up the pressure on the regime. This time round it was the US

again, in the person of John Shattuck, the assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and abour, who piled it on. He met Berisha aides on the morning after the election and urged them to accept defeat. Franz Vranitsky, the former Austrian chancellor and OSCE mission chief for Albania, did not return to Tirana until the following day, by which time Mr Berisha had conceded.

The US has got it right in Albania. Earlier than most others, it saw that Fatos Nano, the Socialist leader. was a better bet than Mr Berisha to reform the economy and skieline corrupt officials from the old comimpotence did not permit them to guard polling stations or oversee the month's election — the United seized control of the state banking

Partly because Mr Nano was in jail from 1993, he missed the postcommunist grab for riches. Now, in line with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank advice which Mr Berisha resisted, Mr Nano wants the opening of private banks as well as the takeover and auditing of remaining pyramid funds, which still have large assets. This may not produce much compensation for hundreds of thousands of Albanians who invested in the schemes and lost, but it vent further damage.

In the name of a simplistic outlook that confused anti-communism with democracy and condoned corruption as long as "reform" was under way, the West tolerated Mr Berisha for too long. Now it has a chance to help Albanians rebuild their disintegrated state. Albania desperately needs economic aid. and a multinational force that provides the energetic policing which no Albanian force yet can. Italy's announcement that it will start to withdraw its troops in two weeks' time ought to be reversed - and not just for the sake of the tortoises.

David Berestord in Johannesburg

NE of Africa's wealthiest and seemingly most contented countries, the former British protectorate of Botswana, is building a reputation for eccentric governance most recently by threatening to clamp down on the press.

International media watchdogs have protested to the president, Quett Masire, against draconian legislation expected to be considered

would license journalists and restrict foreign ownership of news organisations.

The crackdown is baffling be cause there has been no serious quarrel between the government and the press. The legislation would create

state-appointed press council to which local and foreign journalists would have to be accredited. It would have punitive powers. Media companies would also have

and Midweek Sun, which are owned by a British citizen, William Jones.

The only daily, the Botswana Daily News, is a government-owned freesheet. "We've no idea why they have had to resort to this," said the Botswana Guardian's editor, Keto Segwal, last week.

The Masire administration already has tough laws controlling the press, including the National Security Act which was used against a weekly, Mmegi, after it reported to ensure 80 per cent of their shares | that the government had reneged by his cabinet this week which were owned by local citizens — a on a wage deal with civil servants.

A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH

Curbs baffle Botswana press requirement that would force the sale or closure of the two national LA to pay for 'stolen lake' They dress their rat bites and give them antibiotics arrived them antibiotics arrived the antibio

ESIDENTS near a lake that Los Angeles "stole" more than 90 years ago have won a historic decision forcing the city to spend \$300 million to make amends, writes Christopher Reed. But the city is promising to fight.

A hundred years ago paddle steamers crossed the 285sq km Owens Lake and the valley, which lies about 320km from LA at the foot of the 4,300m high eastern Sierra mountains. Farmers used the Owens River to irrigate a rich agri- Control District countered: cultural area.

But early this century, city secretly bought, lake side land? for their water rights, and then 400km pipeline to bring the walk biggest engineering enterprise As Mulholland opened the Wi

in 1913 and the water gushed bedeclared: "There it is, take it." week, a member of the board Great Basin Unified Air Politi it is, fix it."



The US this week

Martin Walker

HE announcement last week of Lockheed-Martin's \$11.6 billion agreed offer for Northrop-Grumman, the military aviation and electronics company, leaves the world's biggest military customer increasingly in the hands of an industrial oligopoly that has gone far beyond the Pentagon's initial call for a post-cold war restruc-

No sooner had the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) formally approved the merger, first proposed last December, between the aero-space giants Boeing and McDonnell Douglas than the second shoe dropped, intensifying the consolida-tion of the United States defence in-

The marriage of Lockheed-Martin to Northrop-Grumman is (after Boeing) the second biggest defence merger on record. It will create a company with 230,000 employees and combined revenues of \$37 billion, unless the US government steps in to claim that the rationalisation of the industry has gone too far.
The industry is betting that it won't.

'There will come a moment of awakening for the Pentagon," Norman Augustine, the head of Lock-heed, noted last year in an unusually frank admission that defence capitalism was too important to be left to the capitalists. They may have to say to themselves that the free-market system has no forces within it that ensure the survival of a viable defence industrial base . . . the Pentagon may decide to become more actively involved in trying to ensure that there's an adequate number of survivors."

Federal Trade Commission chairman Robert Pitowisky warned even before the Boeing merger that he was worried about the implications for competition on price and technical innovation. The FTC only approved Boeing's earlier purchase of Rockwell's aerospace and defence business on condition that Boeing took steps to guarantee competition in key areas. But the FTC's qualms have now been overcome.

This may or may not have had something to do with the repeated | nual revenues come from sence of Boeing's top lobbyist Chris Hansen at those fund-raising coffee mornings which President Clinton hosted last year. No doubt Clinton was too polite to comment on the interesting fact that Boeing paid no federal taxes in 1995, and even managed to get a \$33 million rebate, thanks to the Foreign Sales Corporate Tax Credit and generous deductions available for research and development. Not that this stops Boeing from squealing with rage at the "state subsidies" that European governments make to their own aerospace champion, Airbus Industriė,

puts intense new pressure on the European defence industry, which has been scrambling through political obstacles to merge and buy its way into contention with the new

American giants.
The Commission of the European
Union has threatened to bar the merger on competition grounds, or at least to impose swingeing penal-ties since it can hardly hope to stop it altogether. (The logical contradiction of the EU complaining of American arrogance in imposing its own laws on foreign businessmen presunning to trade with Cuba, while trying to stop two US-owned companies from merging, has yet to penetrate the European mind.)

"The next evolutionary step is that US industry will start looking for acquisitions in Europe, now that they have nearly completed their national restructuring, Jean-Louis Fache of Aerospatiale told Defense News last week. Defense News also reported a possible French megamerger of Aerospatiale, Thomson-CSF and Dassault Aviation. The sudden turmoil in the industry also reflects the sharpening competition for the new market of the eastern European countries now poised to enter the enlarged Nato alliance.

The accumulated purchases and mergers of the US defence sector now top \$100 billion since the famous "Last Supper" in 1993, when hen-defence secretary William Perry called in the industry leaders to tell them that the Pentagon sprawling industry that could no longer prosper on cold war defence contracts. He urged a swift restructuring that would leave the US best placed to dominate world export

creates a third giant to join the new Boeing-McDonnell Douglas group, which is strongest in aircraft, and the Raytheon group, the smallest of the three. Raytheon specialises in missiles and electronics, after its own \$12.5 billion purchase of the defence holdings of Hughes Electronics and Texas Instruments.

Lockheed, which began the flurry of mergers by buying Martin Marietta for \$10 billion in 1995, is a leading manufacturer of such military aircraft as the F-117 Stealth warplane, the F-16 fighter and the Hercules cargo workhorse. It is also a leading manufacturer of strategic and tactical missiles and aerospace electronics.

Northrop, which has just seen its hopes of \$27 billion in new orders for nine of its B-2 Stealth bombers put on hold by Congress, had just completed its own \$5 billion expansion programme. Northrop bought Grumman aircraft and the defence house. Half of its \$8 billion an-

electronics division of Westingcess to McDonnell Douglas 18, and half from electronic systems. A new battle is joined

The Lockheed-Northrop deal tween Boeing and Lockheed to produce the new JSF (Joint Strike Fighter) for the US Air Force and Navy, and for Britain's Royal Navy. A contract worth \$300 billion over the next 20 years, it will define the uture of the industry. To some extent it already has: McDonnell Douglas agreed to merge with Bocing when it was excluded from the competition to build the JSF.

British Aerospace, which was ini-tially linked with McDonnell Douglas, was wooed hard by both groups to be a leading partner in the JSF contract because of the political weight of the Royal Navy's involvement. At the Paris air show last month, BAe announced it would team up with Lockheed. BAe is also a major partner in the Airbus consortium, which has been in discussions with Lockheed about co-operating to develop the new Airbus A3XX jumbo jet, against Boeing's dominance in commercial

In the immediate future, the European defence market is also vital because of the prospect of selling \$10 billion of advanced Western fighters to the new Nato countries of eastern Europe. The Interna-tional Monetary Fund has already expressed concern about the broader economic impact of defence spending on fledgling economies, but the US defence groups have been pouring money into US political campaigns and lobbying senators to ensure that Nato enlargement — and the eventual

sales bonanza — goes ahead. Just to ensure it does, Lockheed's director of strategic planning, Bruce Jackson, last week confirmed that he had become the president of the US Committee to expand Nato.

still accounts for 2.5 per cent of US gross domestic product - about \$170 billion a year although its consolidation has seen employment drop from almost 4 million in 1987 to 2.6 million today. And the Pentagon's budget for weapons procurement, close to \$100 billion a year at the 1988 peak of cold war spending, has shrunk to \$40 billion

The defence industry says this is about two-thirds of what will be needed over the next decade to modernise US military hardware. That means the companies that remain big enough to survive in the current spending trough should penefit in the future.

The new pecking order puts Lockheed-Northrop on top, with an-nual sales of \$38 billion, closely followed by Boeing-McDonnell Douglas, with sales of \$35 billion (of



Marriage made in the skies . . . Lockheed's F16 fighter, above, and Northrop's B-2 stealth bomber, below

darkly about Anglo-Saxon plots, b

which they mean their suspice:

that BAe could yet be a jun

takeover target for Lockheed, by

coming another Anglophone To

French will have only themselve

to blame after turning down the

BAc plan for a European defent

super-merger.
The new Boeing-McDonnell ging

dwarfs Europe's Airbus, and d

hold nearly two-thirds of the world!

commercial airline market, w.

over half of US military sirus

production, and almost all US mi-

tary helicopters. Its combined sale

of almost \$50 billion catapult the

new jumbo into the top ten of 13

corporations, employing sont 200,000 people and sharing a juin

backlog of more than \$120 billion in

McDonnell Douglas has for two

decades been the dominant acro

space contractor to the Pentago.

with sales averaging \$8-10 billion:

have averaged around half has level. Lockheed usually ran des

behind McDonnell Douglas

sales of around \$7 billion, and Man

tin Marietta was neck and neck with

The size of the Boeing Mclar

nell Douglas group conveys its on

the behemoth which will now

effect become the sole US che

pion. Clinton has already intervent with big customers, including it

Saudi monarchy, to seal sales di

Boeing at \$5 billion.

year, while Bocing's military sale

which just over half comes from | stand why the French keep hinti commercial aviation). Raythcon with sales of \$21 billion is now straining to service its \$11 billion debt, and may itself become a takeover target unless the Pentagon calls a halt to the furious process it jan horse in Europe. If so, it

A certain rough symmetry is emerging, in which Boeing looks ikely to dominate the commercial aviation market, with spirited competition from Europe's Airbus, while Lockheed depends on its domi-nance in missiles and the help of BAe to compete with Boeing for the

military aerospace market. You can see why the French want to restructure their defence industry in order to compete, even though they spurned the RAe proposal for a Euro-team, bringing BAc, Germany's DASA (Daimler-Benz Aerospace) and Aerospatiale

This is complex stuff. While cooperating with Lockheed on the JSF, BAe continues to work with Boeing-McDonnell Douglas on making the Harrier jump-jet and the new T045 Goshawk trainer. It is also competing head-to-head around the world against Lockheed's F-16 fighter in alliance with Sweden's Saab, in a joint marketing deal to sell the Gripen fighter.

As well as being complex, it is inadvantage in the high-cost busines of developing new airliners at through the marketing weight tensely competitive. Even before the Boeing merger, the "strategic collaboration" pact under which McDonnell Douglas agreed to become sub-contractors on the next model of the Boeing 747, contained a "no-compete" clause designed to bar Airbus Industrie from ac-

Boeing aircraft. , Boeing has one serious rival technology and finance as a for the Pentagon's procured risk-sharing partner for hudget, the Lockheed group & while the Pentagon's spenies the proposed Airbus
A3XX jumbo jet, You power looks likely to gray on modestly over the next decade can also underthe ISF contracts kick world's commercial aircraft mais

is set to boom.

The International Air Transpot Association forecasts annual group of more than 7 per cent annually be the next five years. Moreover, 2000, about 30 per cent of the world's civilian air fleet will be years old or more.

Flexible labour policy no aid to jobs - OECD

RITAIN'S much vaunted flexible labour market locks workers into poorly paid jobs, helps entrench insecurity and has no impact on economic per-formance, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is expected to announce

In a move that will provide backing for the Government's reforms of the labour market, the economic think tank will report that many UK employees at the bottom of the wages ladder are trapped in a cycle of "low pay or no pay".

Trade unions and ministers are certain to seize on the findings of the influential study, which questions some of the main elements of free-market economic thinking over the past two decades.

Research by the 29-nation OECD will reveal that that there is no link between the level of trade union aclivity and overall economic performance. It could find no evidence that the existence of unions led to more unemployment or fewer jobs. | a radical attack on long-term and |

Larry Elliott and

Michael White look at

HE UK Chancellor, Gordon

radical shake-up of the wel-

fare state last week when he used

his first Budget to seize £5 billion

(\$8 billion) from the privatised util-

ities to fund back-to-work schemes

and conjured up an extra £3.5 billion

In a package designed to mollify

ousiness as well as the Govern-

ment's traditional supporters, Mr Brown announced £5.9 billion of

overall tax increases designed to

prevent the recent spurt in the econ-

omy from turning into a boom-bust

He found a lucrative, backdoor

way of raising revenue with the aboli-

tion of tax credits on dividends, a

move that will hit pension schemes

hard. The National Association of

Pension Funds said the decision —

which will reap more than £11 billion

three years — was "the biggest at-

But the Chancellor left his

biggest surprise till last: the raid on

he Government's contingency re-

serve to ball the national health ser-

vice out of a cash crisis, and provide

money for much-needed resources

The NHS - which faced a stand-

cent during the 18 years of Conserv-

ative rule, this was seen as enough

to stave off a backbench revolt

while being tough on public

spending.
Education will also get an extra

£1 billion from the reserve in 1998-

modern classrooms they need.

and overdue repairs to schools.

ack on pensions since the war".

for schools and the health service.

Brown, launched Labour's

Labour's first budget

Brown does a

conjuring trick

Moreover the OECD found that | youth unemployment, paid for by | pean Union. OECD labour ministers the lack of unions and the absence | the windfall tax on the privatised | will start the process with a special of collective bargaining were associ-ated with a higher incidence of

poverty pay.

De-unionisation, a less generous welfare state and the fear that the loss of a job may result in a loss of status and salary have meant that Britain's level of job insecurity has remained surprisingly high, despite the fall in official claimant-count un-employment from almost 3 million to little over 1.5 million since late-

Labour market reform was a feature of the 18 years of Conservative rule, with both the Thatcher and Major administrations claiming that deregulation, privatisation, the crosion of employment rights and the scrapping of wages councils had enhanced the job and pay prospects of UK workers.

However, the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, said last week that the economy's underlying rate of growth was unchanged at 2.25 per cent since 1979. He will use the OECD's findings to support his proposals for

However, the bulk of the windfall

tax will be spent on measures aimed

at creating "the new welfare state

for the 21st century". The young

obless, the long-term unemployed

single parents and the disabled will

After his Budget speech the

Chancellor seemed to have won

grudging acceptance from the priva-

tised utilities for his one-off windfall

tax, but the Confederation of British

Industry responded anguly to the

attack on dividends. "The CBI is dis-

appointed that such a major change

in corporate taxation was intro-

duced without proper prior consul-

tation," said director-general Adair

Mr Turner welcomed the 2 per-

centage point cut in corporation tax

recorded in the UK - but said any

boost to investment would be offset

by the change to the dividend

taking it to the lowest ever

all be helped to find work.

utilities.

Mr Brown has been anxiously monitoring the pound's steady rise towards three German marks since delivering his Budget last week. and is concerned that sterling's 20 per cent appreclation over the past 12 months will damage industry by making exports more expensive.

But he remains convinced that the welfare to work programme will provide the key to solving Britain's long-term unemployment

Government sources said at the weekend that the OECD's authoritative annual Employment Outlook appeared to support the case for a more interventionist strategy. Ministers believe that the findings on the difficulties faced by workers in escaping from low-paid jobs add weight to the argument for the introduction of a minimum wage.

The Chancellor plans to make job creation the theme of next year's round of summits, when Britain has the chair both of the Group of Seven industrial nations and of the Euro-

will start the process with a special meeting in October. This will be tollowed by a G7 jobs summit in Lon-don in early 1998, which will feed ideas into the annual gathering of the West's leaders in Birmingham

next May.

Ministers believe that it is the overriding priority of the West to reduce unemployment, which currently stands at 36 million, and to find ways of helping the 20 per cent of workless households.

The OECD has been at the fore front of efforts to tackle unemployment since its wide-ranging jobs study in 1994. Although the think tank has in the past backed struc-tural reforms of labour markets to reduce unemployment, the new report is believed to find no link between deregulation and earnings

Research showed that over a sixyear study period UK employees who began under the EU poverty wage threshold stayed there for more than four years on average, a record worse than any other country apart from the United States.

In Brief

HE gold price crashed to its lowest level since the 1970s amid rumours that banks were set to cut the link between the yellow metal and legal tender.

OOLWICH, the fourth UK mutual to convert to a public limited company this year, exceeded expectations by souring to a peak of 368.5p on its stock market debut and handed windfalls of at least £1,500 (\$2,520) to 2.5 million people.

RITISH TELECOM cleared a big hurdle in its acquisition of MCI, America's second-largest long-distance phone company, when the US Justice Department approved the \$20.8 billion deal that would create the world's second-largest telecommunications company, behind AT&T.

EALTH group Amersham International is to merge with Norwegian rival Nycomed to create a \$3 billion group.

BRITAIN and France gave a auge boost to Eurotumel by agreeing a licence extension that could see the troubled company running the Channel tunnel beyoud the end of the next century

WAR broke out in the trou-bled BSkyB boardroom as directors of Britain's dominant pay-television operator reacted angrily to comments from Rupert Murdoch that shares in the company had been overvalued.

C ABLE & Wireless revealed plans to strengthen its position in the Pacific Rim by taking a controlling stake in Optus Communications, Australia's second largest communications

HE British Post Office announced record profits of 8970 million for the year despite last year's postal strikes.

A RECORD year of corporate financial activity for the N M Rothschild & Sons boosted the profits of its parent company by 66 per cent to \$128 million.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

-	Sterling rates July 7	Sterling rates June 30
Australia	2 2652-2,2078	2.2199-2.2233
Austria	20 67-20.69	
		20.39-20 41
Belgum	60 61-60.68	59 78-59 88
Canada	2 3149-2.3169	2.2049-2 2971
Denmak	11.18-11.19	11.03-11.04
France	9.90-9.91	9 76-9.77
Germany	2 0381-2 9405	2 8088-2 9014
Hong Kong	13.03-13.04	12.88-12.89
Ireland	1.1029-1.1071	1.1021-1.1042
italy ·	12,863-2,886	2,830-2,833
Japan	189.20-109.41	190.32-190 58
Methedands	3.3088-3.3093	3.2501-3.2637
New Zealayd	2.4951-2 4369	2.4540-2.4573
Norway .	12,27-12.29	12.17-12.19
Portugal	296.38-293,59	292.39-292.73
Spen ,	248.08-248.35,	244.61-244.02
Sweden ,	12.98-13 00	12.85-12.87
Swilzerland	2.4510-2.4547	2.4250-2.4276
USA	1.6842-1.6850	1.8638-1.6648
EQU	1,4931-1,4945	1.4751-1.4772

Index down 4.4 pt 4400.0. Oak! down \$21.78 at \$310.00

Case for change . . . Brown with Leona Reid, one of the Rosyth

Meanwhile London's City was braced for further increases in interest rates. Sterling soared on the foreign exchanges, rising to DM2.94 against the German mark, with City dealers convinced that imminent rises in interest rates from the Bank of England would ensure that any Budget respite for consumers would be short-lived.

Stamp duty on the sale of more expensive homes — those priced above £250,000 - was increased, still budget next year - will receive but the markets were more interadditional 2.25 per cent. Al ested to note that mortgage interest though less than the average 3 per relief is to be cut from 15 per cent to 10 per cent next spring rather than

Smokers and drivers will also be targeted for extra taxes, but the impact on the consumer will be partly offset by the reduction in VAT on domestic fuel and power from 8 per

9, and £1.3 billion from the windfall tax will fund "an immediate programme of capital investment to provide schools with "the infrastructure, the technology, and the bright

ment and improve opportunities for

However, the need to slow down the economy and reduce the budget deficit over the coming years meant that the tax burden would rise this year. Analysis by accountants Coopers & Lybrand showed that the impact of the reduction in mortgage interest relief, together with higher excise duties on petrol, tobacco and alcohol, would leave a married employed person on £20,000 a year £22.29 a month worse off next year. Those on lower incomes will lose a pigger share of their incomes than

ests of the few. This Budget

advances the long-term interests of

Winding up his 61 minute debut as Chancellor, Mr Brown said he had produced a package designed to equip Britain for the challenges cent to 5 per cent. of the 21st century. "Previous budgets pursued the short-term inter-

Pledging to weed out the four fun-damental weaknesses of the British economy, the Chancellor said the help for the under-25s and the long term jobless, the package also i cluded measures to assist lone parents and the disabled back into the labour market.

Some of the young people taken off benefit will be trained to provide childcare support, as well as making up squads of environmental workers whose jobs will include insulating lofts for the elderly. Mr Brown ing would no longer be an option.

The focus of the Conservative at tack was the ruld on tax credits paid on dividends, with shadow chancellor Peter Lilley dubbing it "the

Robert Maxwell Memorial Budget". The new Tory leader William Hague dubbed the Chancellor's debut a tax-and-spend Budget and, in reversal of Labour's election campaign rhetoric, said that a single day had produced "17 Tony tax rises".

Tough regime, page 11. In addition to the widely trailed | Comment, page 12

-12 89 1.1042 190 6B 3.2637 2.4573 -12.19 -292.73 -244.02 -1287 2.4276 FT86 100 Share Index up 200.0 at 4810.7. FTSR 200

schools will be decided by parents.

corrosion of the perpetual sceptics."

of the National Union of Teachers,

hailed the white paper's commit-

ments on class sizes, equitable fund-

David Hart, general secretary of

the National Association of Head

Feachers, said: "Combined with last

week's Budget and the promise of

more resources to come, it provides

support, alongside the pressure of

targets and league tables, which is

urgently needed."

ing and fair admissions policies.

Loud and proud at 25

NTHE 25th anniversary of the annual Gay Pride featival tens of thousands of people last weekend marched through London in a blare of whistles and drums, writes Victoria Clark.

A quarter of a million — said to be the largest turnout yet gathered on Clapham Common, to hear messages of support from Tony Blair, William Hague and Paddy Ashdown. Heritage Secretary Chris Smith spoke and the Pet Shop Boys topped

EastEnders star Barbara Windsor led the march in a shocking pink suit from an opentop Cadillac, Gay police, firemen and customs officers marched under their banners, among the gorgeously arrayed transvestites and underclad "leather queens"

Julian Howes, at the front of the march, in an orange tango dress and golden mules, was selling flashing wands for the gay pressure group Stonewall. "This is my 26th march [including one rehearsal march]. And HTV willing I'll see 26 more — though I'm on six to seven years at the

moment," he said. The Gay Liberation Front organised the first Gay Pride march in 1972, five years after tomosexuality was legalised for



And the bride came too . . . A record 250,000 marked the 25th anniversary of Gay Pride in London PHOTOGRAPH: ANDY HALL

consenting adults over the age of | inviting a Gay Liberation Front 21 and a decade before anyone had heard of Aids.

It was the scrag-end of the hippie era, the year Britain went decimal and astronauts took their first moon walk. Mr Howes was a long-haired, bell-bottomed 16-year-old in a state of high excitement at having been branded "a corrupting influence" for

activist to speak at his school in Tulse Hill, south London.

There were about 1,000 marching in a mood somewhere between defiant and euphoric, and he recalls "the stunned incredulity of most of the people watching. You only get that level don't you?" - The Observer

the plans, most of them criticising the intended restructuring as undemorratic, unrealistic, hasty and stifling debate. A central complaint is that the changes are being foisted on the party, and that members

the subsidies.'

originated in Belgium.

The commission said that although 700 tonnes of beef had been seized by Dutch authorities, another 900 tonnes appeared to have been exported to Russia and Egypt with false documents suggesting it

been sold in the EU.

But officials said legal action

roomy," he insisted.

But the car never managed to

appearance, the Lada's importer,

for failing to prevent the exports.

British officials in Brussels admitted thorough inspections of lorries leaving the UK are only made for random two-day periods each month; otherwise only "suspicious" ones were checked.

think that Party In Power is a step too far in the presidential direction. The London constituency of Hampstead and Highgate complains that the restructuring would take control of the conference agenda province were involved. away from the membership, and so upset the balance between the leaders and the led. More bluntly, Stockton North CLP argues that

Leftwingers, and perhaps trade unions, may feel that Labour's rock-British beef back in its burgers.

credibility, or dented its own, when | emissions meant that Russian manit bought a fleet of Lada Cossack all- ufacturers AvtoVaz could no longer | Southeast by wrecking the electricterrain vehicles in 1990. The car also found a friend in pensioner Bill Dales, who took

delivery of his 24th Lada in 1992. well as services at UK dealers. Some will not mourn the car's They keep going and they're passing. One British woman had to have her new Lada fixed 27 times in achieve the anti-fashion cult status three weeks. But many of the inof the Reliant Robin, and after a torsults were blunted in 1989 when the company launched a 149mph rent of schoolboy jokes about its poor performance and glamourless Samara model.

One of the most cutting jibes Motor Vehicle Imports, has finally admitted defeat with the loss of 70 came from BBC presenter, Jeremy Clarkson, who said manufacturers should equip every car with a \$24,000 in cash.

S IX IRA men who had planned to black out London and the supply cars. However, the 100,000 | ity supply network were jailed at the surviving Lada owners in Britain Old Bailey last week for a total of

party policy".

- "an élite and dedicated group" came from Ireland for the operation. arrested in rented premises in London, which also contained all the trappings for bomb-making together with false passports, maps of the electricity grid, ladders and

The Week in Britain James Lewis

ferences, published about three

months in advance of the event,

were always a good guide to the

mood of the rank and file and

offered useful early-warning signals

New Labour, which hopes to

avoid the comradely fratricide of the

past, published this year's motions

to coincide with the Budget, which

vershadowed it with the happy

result that it went largely unnoticed

by the media. Some leftwingers

The same leftwingers are un-

happy about a consultation paper

called Party In Power, on which

they will be required to vote at their

Brighton conference in the autumn.

This sets out the leadership's plans

for further structural changes to the

to avoid the noisy clashes of the

past, in which Labour governments

were seen to be permanently at

odds either with card-carrying

members or trade unions, and

Constituency Labour Parties

(CLPs) have tabled 100 motions on

have been too busy fighting the

The conference still sees itself as

he party's "policy-making" body

but in the past two years has yielded

fairly quietly to the ideas of the new

leader, Tony Blair, in order to pro-

ject an election-winning image of

unity. Some constituencies now

rank-and-file members are simply

being used to rubber-stamp Labour

Some lively debate is promised.

election to have had a prope

chance to consider them.

sometimes both.

party and to the conference, mainly

complained of news management.

to the leadership about storms

Left calls for rethink on

Labour party shake-up

OTIONS submitted for previous Labour party annual con-

Morrow, Francis Rafferty at *

Patrick Martin - was sentenced.

35 years for conspiracy to care

explosions. Martin Murphy, wheat

mitted membership of the IRA be

denied knowing about the plot ve-

acquitted along with a Birminghe-

usiness man, Clive Brampton.

THE SCOTTISH islanders & Skye won a victory of sor

when they persuaded the South

Secretary, Donald Dewar, to late

the price local people are chay:

for crossing the 570-metre bridge:

The tolls, the most expensive

Europe, were reduced from £2.38

£1.25 for a single crossing by a

Charges for commercial vehice

were reduced by 25 per ced?

£18.95 and £11.45, respectively.

the cuts will only affect local use

Visitors by car will still have to:

Many islanders did not want

bridge in the first place and-

except in bad weather - *

happy with the ferry service. Siv

opened in 1995, more than 5003.

have refused to pay the toll and:

face criminal charges. Campaig

say they will continue to fighte

A DIVORCE package of a than £10 million, thought a

the largest yet in a confe

divorce, was awarded in the fi-

Court to Lady Conran, the for

wife of Sir Terence Conran,

style guru who became Bride

leading restaurateur. Before

case went to court he had off;

12.5 million, which he consider

"perfectly reasonable" given to

she had "an enormous amous

Sir Terence, who is worth and

mated £80 million, said he the

the figure unbelievable, just

cause she cooked a few meakt

and again and wrote a few book

Mr Justice Wilson thought div

taught her how to cook".

her own money".

tolls are abolished completely.

£5.40, and coaches £38.50, to a

during the high season.

the mainland.

have gone ahead.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

British courts set to judge human rights

John Carvel

and Donald MacLeod

HE Government this week

schools, when the teaching unions

and local education authorities ral-

lied to support a white paper

promising hugely ambitious in-

provement targets and draconian

Leaders of rival unions who often

compete to find the most colourful

criticism of ministerial initiatives

welcomed proposals from David

Blunkett, the Education and Em-

ployment Secretary, to determine

how teachers should teach and to

The unions - encouraged by the

sack those not up to the job.

enalties for underperformance.

won the first round of its

battle to raise standards in

Clare Dyer

RITONS will soon be able to Denforce their human rights in their own courts instead of having to make the long trek to Strasbourg. he Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine of Lairg, confirmed last week.

But ministers are split on how the European Convention on Human Rights should be incorporated into ilk law. Lord Irvine, a strong defender of parliamentary sovereignty, is thought to favour the weakest model, based on the New Zealand bill of rights, under which the judges would have no power to alter acts of Parliament.

The Home Secretary, Jack Straw, and his junior minister in the Lords. Lord Williams of Mostyn, are beleved to want a stronger model based on the Canadian charter.

Under the New Zealand model, judges would be able to declare a statute in breach of the convention but would not be able to strike it down or change the legislation. It would be left to Parliament to change the law.

Lord Irvine said the Government will publish white papers setting out proposals for a freedom of informaion law and for incorporating the human rights convention, "It must not disturb the supremacy of Parliament," he said. "It should not put the judges in a position where they are seen as at odds with Parlia-

Incorporation will mean a right of privacy, at present non-existent under English law. Other convention rights, such as the right to life, iberty, a fair trial, and freedom of expression will also be enforceable in the UK courts. At present anyone claiming their rights have been vinand has to exhaust remedies available in the UK before taking the ase to Strasbourg.

incorporation would make esible for newspapers, for examde, to argue in the UK courts that British libel laws stille freedom of

The Blair government is enjoying he most blissful post-election honeynoon in recorded history following he most popular Budget in 50 years, scending to a Gallup poll this week.

ently. He found that Lady Com Sir Terence's third wife, had Labour's popularity as a whole been given enough credit for as also risen since its victory on husband's business successes May 1, when it got 44 per cent of the energy was almost as prodigiosi ote. The number of those saying that of her husband, and her role hey would vote Labour has risen a cookery writer was important om 59 per cent last month to 61 creating a public perception is linked him with fine food. er cent now, the poll for the Daily degraph found.

Lady Conran, reckoned to The poll also indicates how much worth £5.7 million before the 🕬 : work the new Tory leader, William ment, was allowed to keep home!
London and Dorset, and awards!
lump sum of £6.2 million, inches lague, will have to do to control his sarty - with 83 per cent of voters elieving the Tories are divided. £900,000 to buy a new property

be immune even if it knowingly

Essex county council, which had worker who placed the 15-year-old other children."

had not personally seen or heard "a

Sound meets fury on road to nowhere

But within an hour scores of

Royal Ulster Constibulary Land

The confrontation, which had

flared into violence. Hundreds of

demonstrators threw a barrage

hombs. The response was swift

fired rubber bullets while 1,000

police officers, in military-style

fire-proof riot gear, dragged pro-

"This just proves that you can

never trust what the English bas-

tards tell you." said one woman.

This proves that the British

sinte treats Catholics like ani-

had been minimal compared

with last year.

mals." Privately, however, some

people voiced relief that violence

of bottles, stones and petrol

and brutally effective. Troops

testers from the road.

Rovers had sealed the road.

been simmering all last week.

The 15-year-old boy, named only as G, was placed with the parents. who were specialist adolescent foster carers, in April 1993, when their own children were aged between seven and 12.

By daybreak, Garyaghy Road

was in a state of siege, with lo-

cals pinned well back from the

parade route. In contrast, an air

of celebration accompanied the

Orange Lodge shortly after 10mm

estates, marchers were greeted

y large hund-painted banners.

One-way traffic - no turning. By

But when the parade turned

Road, it was greeted by residents

order of Portadown Lovalists.

the corner on to the Garvaghy

blowing whistles and banging

dustbin lids. The parade, how-

mile-long road without serious

resumed as the RUC and army

ever, reached the end of the

incident. But the violence

attempted to withdraw.

Orange parade when it set off

from the Portadown District

Passing through loyalist

They claim they had stipulated that they would not foster anyone who was known or suspected to be a sexual abuser.

The parents claim that the social worker, Mr Golden, knew that G had been taken into care at the age

In Brief

CALLS to legalise euthanasia were thrown out by doctors ment, and the future of grammar at their annual conference. They Mr Blunkett said: "To succeed we said it was the job of the medical need the commitment, imagination profession to help patients and drive of all those working in our rather than kill them. Earlier. schools and colleges if we are to set they voted overwhelmingly for aside the doubts of the cynics and the cumabis products to be made legally available for medical use. Doug McAvoy, general secretary

UK NEWS 9

HREE British teenagers on a school holiday were killed when their coach plunged down a ravine in the French Alps after sliding off a hairpin bend.

A SIAN people are more likely than other ethnic group to need kidney transplants because of a higher incidence of diabetes and high blood pressure. But they face a longer waiting lists because there is a shortage of Asian donors, says the National Transplant Service.

THE ROYAL Greenwich Observatory — a direct link with Newton, Halley and the birth of scientific unvigation - is to merge with the Royal Observatory Edinburgh into a new UK Astronomy Technology Centre at

THE BBC has defended an increase of nearly 20 per cent in director general John Birt's pay package, saying it was "modest" compared with other senior media executives.

A FLOCK of genetically-modified sheep near Edinburgh is being used in experimental treatment of human victims of emphysema. The sheep have been raised by scientists who developed Dolly, the world's first sheep cloned from a cell taken from another sheep's udder.

HE High Court has given anti-smoking campaigners the go-ahend to seek compensation via the courts against British eigarette manufacturers.

A MARTYA SEN, professor of economics and philosophy at Harvard university, has become Master of Trinity College, Oxford, the first Indian acmiemic to head an Oxbridge college.

A THREE-DAY strike by British Airways cabin crews, over the imposition of a cost-cutting pay and conditions package, looked almost certain to go ahead this week after talks between BA management and itons broke down in acrimony Further stoppages are likely.

6

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D

OUR Broadmoor patients have won a High Court injunction banning the topsecurity hospital from forcing allpatients to undergo rubdown

S IR JOSHUA Hassan, a long-serving minister in the British colonial service and Gibraltar's political leader for 42 years, has died aged 81,

EU alarm over British beef

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE European Commission last week accused Britain of "manifest inefficiency" in failing to prevent the export of hundreds of tonnes of beef, as British officials admitted they made only occasional checks at ports.

Amid mounting concern in Europe that UK beef has been reaching the Continent despite the 14-month, European Union-imposed worklwide ban on exports following the epidemic of BSE (mad cow disease), the commission disclosed that at least 1,600 tonnes has been exported to Holland.

There were accusations from MEPs that a criminal conspiracy, involving a Belgian beef "mafia", may be involved in disguising the source of the beef and claiming EU export credits for its onward sale.

German MEP Dagmar Roth-Behrendt, who chairs the parlia-

CHEAP, ugly and reliable only for its frequent breakdowns,

the Lada was the perfectly unfash-

But last week importers in Carn-

aby, Humberside, gave up the strug-

gle to sell this most unappealing of

vehicles. After more than 20 years,

the Russian-built car will no longer

First imported in 1973, there

were 2,374 sold by the following

year. By 1986 the annual sales fig-

ure had risen to more than 21,000,

breeding loyalty among owners

Clare Longrigg

ionable family car.

be sold in Britain.

fraud by a beef mafia is feeding off

Klaus Van der Pas, the commission's chief spokesman, said: "The export controls were manifestly inefficient. Whether it is the tip of the ceberg . . . or all of the iceberg, I

News of the evasion of the export oan caused widespread concern in Europe, with Spain immediately banning beef exports from Belgium. British MEPs and commission officials are alarmed that the exports may leopardise any early lifting of the ban, although the commission said there was no evidence it had

disease, commented: "The latest | might be taken against the British

As increasingly bizarre stories surfaced, the French satirical and investigative magazine, Le Canard Enchaine, claimed that "infected" beef carcasses were being exported from ports in Northern Ireland and that British troops stationed in the

The magazine claimed that the inquiry was sparked by an anonymous telegram to Interpol warning that exports of beef contaminated with BSE were taking place from Bangor, Carrickfergus and Larne "by the good old method of contra-

band by moonlight". Burger King announced it is to follow McDonald's lead and put

solid majority in the Commons now allows them the freedom to voice pent-up feelings without being accused of rocking the boat. Lada imports grind to a halt after 20 years

> will be still be able to obtain parts as | 210 years. The court was told that the men After an intensive programme of surveillance, involving 200 police and intelligence officers, they were

amid general scorn.

Problems obtaining an AmericanWiltshire police lent the car some

Problems obtaining an Americanmade part to keep down exhaust

brown paper bag with eye holes "so
no one would spot you driving it".

After a 12-week trial, each of the
no one would spot you driving it".

A S MANY as 80,000 racing a geons were feared dead when cross-Channel race — in celebration of the centenary of the British by

Victims of teenage sex abuser can sue

FTHE nationalist community

living along the Garvaghy Road

went to bed last Friday night feel-

campaign was about to bear fruit.

ing a quiet optimism that their

the awakening could not have

been more rude, write Stuart

Millar and David Sharrock.

At 2.30am last Saturday the

uneasy calm was broken by the

shrill, continuous note of a resi-

were on the move. The hundreds

dents' coalition siren, alerting

that piled from their beds into

the street were relieved to dis-

cover it had been a false alarm.

The barbed wire barricades laid

around Drumcree parish church

by Royal Engineers had rein-

forced speculation that the po-

lice would not force the parade

down the road for the third year.

locals that the security forces

Clare Dyer

OUR children who were sexually assaulted by a teenage sex abuser being fostered by their family won the right this week to sue the council which made the placement.

The landmark judgment by Mr Justice Hooner makers are recommended.

of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the centenary of the British by a second of the immune even if it knowingly placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family, and even if a social worker had deliberately lied to the foster parents. The ruling gives the three girls and one boy, who cannot be named into local authorities' immunity the group alread that the race should be immune even if it knowingly placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family, and even if a social worker had deliberately lied to the foster parents. The ruling gives the three girls and one boy, who cannot be named that the go ahead to bring a negligence claim against the council and placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family, and even if a social worker had deliberately lied to the foster parents. The ruling gives the three girls and one boy, who cannot be named that the go ahead to bring a negligence claim against the council and be immune even if it knowingly placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convicted of rape or robbery with a family placed an adolescent convi from legal action over their statu-lory child care duties.

The go-aneat to bring a negligence of the council and can go ahead. Maybe this might of 12 following an Indecent assault on his younger sister, but lied to

tried to have the case struck out, and argued that the council would struck out their parents' claim for compensation for the post-traumatic stress disorder they developed after discovering the abuse. They were barred from claiming because they

Teachers welcome reform

£2 billion fillip for education in last week's Budget and a government

promise to celebrate the profes-

sion's successes as well as pillory its

failures - said the white paper was

Its proposals include stopping 16-

year-olds leaving school at Easter

before taking GCSEs, and allowing

schools to appeal against an unfair

inspection by the Office for Stan-

The white paper goes some way to fulfil Mr Blunkett's promise to

stop schools selecting pupils by test-

ing academic ability or interviewing the parents. However, specialist

schools will be allowed to give prior-

ity to children who show the rele-

vant aptitude", church schools will

continue to assess religious commit-

'ambitious and refreshing".

dards in Education.

horrifying event". The children's father said: "I am really pleased that the kids' claims

EIL HAMILTON, the disgraced former minister, was graced former minister, was found guilty last week of taking up to £25,000 cash in brown envelopes from Harrods owner Mohamed Al Fayed, in a damning verdict on political sleaze from Sir Gordon Downey, the Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards.

The former Conservative MP for Tatton, who lost his seat at the general election, was comprehensively trounced by Sir Gordon for concealing cash payments, lying to the former deputy prime minister, Michael Heseltine, accepting undeclared lavish hospitality and unacceptable behaviour that "fell well below the standards expected of Members of

In a simple statement Sir Gordon said: 'The evidence that Mr Hamilton received cash payments directly from Mr Al Fayed in return for lobbying services is compelling; and I

Alan Rusbridger, editor of the Guardian, welcomed Sir Gordon's findings. He said: "On October 1 last year we called Neil Hamilton 'A Liar And A Cheat'. That verdict is now official. Sir Gordon's report is a complete vindication of all the work by the Guardian over nearly four years. It is a detailed, thorough and damning demolition of every single lie that Neil Hamilton has spread during that period."

Sir Gordon's verdict finds Hamilton, former Northern Ireland minister Tim Smith, former government whip Michael Brown, and former Tory MPs Sir Andrew Bowden and Sir Michael Grylls all guilty of not declaring payments received either from Mr Fayed or lobbyist Ian Greer, who organised Mr Fayed's campaign against Tiny Rowland's attempt to regain control of Harrods.

The most serious condemnation is reserved for Hamilton and Smith, who finally admitted to Sir Gordon that he had also received £25,000 in cash in brown envelopes.

Hamilton is condemned for not declaring his two stays at Mr Fayed's expense at the lavish Ritz Hotel and private apartments in Paris; for failing to register pay-ments and lavish hospitality from another Greer client, US Tobacco: for lying to Mr Heseltine about his payments from Greer, and for mis-leading ministers when lobbying to introduced the banned chewing tobacco Skoal Bandits into Britain.

In a damning quote, Sir Gordon adds: "There is a general obligation on members to the effect: 'If in doubt, register.' Mr Hamilton seems to have adopted the opposite principle and, if in doubt, gave himself the benefit of it."

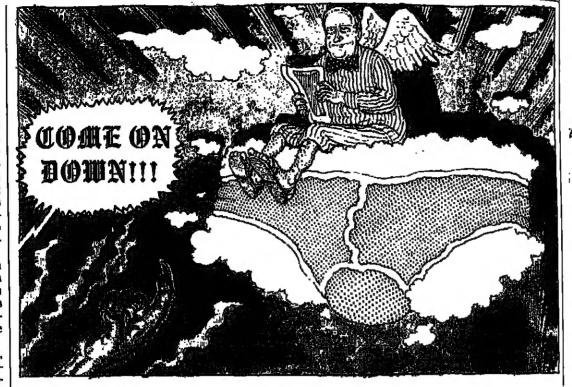
Hamilton and his wife, Christine, were clearly stunned by the findings. He said: "I'm extremely disappointed and devastated . . . I totally deny any dishonesty. The only evi dence against me is from his [Mr Fayed's | paid employees . . . but he can't say when [the money] was taken and how much was taken why it was given or where it went."

Smith was more contrite. He said: "I am very sorry that my conduct, as Sir Gordon Downey has described it, fell well below the standards expected of MPs. I can only say in my defence that it seemed less obvious at the time than it does with the benefit of hindsight what was the right course of action to take."

Hamilton, who last year abandoned a libel case against the Guardian, has 14 days to deliver his rebuttal to Sir Gordon's report. But he can expect a rough ride after such a meticulous investigation.

He later astonished Tory activists when, in response to calls for him to quit the party, he revealed he had never been a member. He claimed that as an MP he was not entitled to be a member of his local constituency association, and had not applied to join after losing his seat. MPs are automatically members of the party on election to Parliament.

Cabinet at war over Scottish devolution



had been set aside for the for-

mer MPs who had been investi-

gated by Sir Gordon. The idea

charges before they were pub-lished. In the past a bottle of

whisky and a revolver would

have been provided too. Now

handguns are illegal, and a

vine and a press agent.

news political teams.

Christine?"

gentleman who has lost his hon-

Hamilton declined to enter bu

ne was near by. While MPs in

trivia of the Budget, he was in

Four Millbank, home of all TV

As we tracked him down,

"She's outside talking to her

lawyer, thank God," was the

reply. Grown men who would

have happily steered Lady

Thatcher with a pat upon the

backside are terrified of Mrs

someone hissed: "Where's

the Chamber were debating the

the real centre of British power:

our requires only a dry white

was that they could read the

Going to hell in their own way

POLITICAL SKETCH Simon Hoggart

CHADENFREUDE, unlike O revenge, is a dish best eaten hot. Or so I remarked to a Labour MP as we waited for the Downey report on parliamentary sleaze.

All the MPs criticised have resigned or been thrown out. Where was the pleasure, I inquired, in watching the further humiliation of someone who had already fallen?

He disagreed. "What I say is. dig 'em up, kick their corpses round, stone 'em a few times, then bury them again." Another Labour MP took up the

theme: "What a shame Hamilton lost to Martin Bell," he said, "it would have been much more fun if he'd still been around." Somehow the 898-page tome

eemed to fall open at page 129 of Volume I ("the evidence . . . is compelling; and so I conclude") - "like those pages in Lady

Inside her husband was de-fending himself with an energy nervous, bumbling and con-

Aitken and other serial fibbers, does so with conviction and élan. Having convinced themselves, they cannot quite com-prehend that their belief does not communicate itself magically to the rest of us. The great liars shift the charge

from the one they ought to answer to the one they want to answer. He was asked about the way he represented Skoal Bandita chewing tobacco while failing to tell anyone that he did. Suddenly he was riding on a white horse: "I am a libertarian I believe everyone should go to hell in their own way!" But of course that wasn't the question.

He left, his head aloft.

and enthusiasm which, whatever your view of him, you could only admire. Most of us are bad llars:

fused when we are caught out. But Hamilton, like Jonathan

Christine was downcast. "Do you mind?" she shouted at a reporter. No, he didn't. Schadenfreude. But they do mind, dreadfully.

Lords defeat for Labour

Ewen MacAskill

TONY BLAIR was expected this week to be dragged in to mediate between warring Cabinet colleagues over plans for the creation of a Scottish Parliament in the biggest bustup since Labour came to power.

Despite years of preparatory work on Labour's flagship constitutional reform, the confidential Cabinet committee dealing with it shows ministers deeply divided over the precise powers of a Scottish Parliament. Labour insiders described the twice-weekly sessions as "torrid".

The unexpectedly acrimonious ssue that has left ministers deadocked is whether Westminster or the new parliament in Edinburgh will have legislative power over Mr Dewar "to jump through hoops". abortion. It is a hugely sensitive issue which pits the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland against the Labour | and the Leader of the House, Ann. leadership and raises the spectre of cross-horder shortions in the Irish

Taylor.

Before the deadlock over abormanner if Scottish law were to be | tion, the committee's flercest battle

number of Scottish MPs sitting at | insisting Scots receive too much Westminster after devolution, and a | compared with England. Braveheartish

In a series of clashes, the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, the Cabinet's leading anti-devolutionist, the Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, and the Agriculture Minister, Jack Cunningham, have formed themselves into an "English lobby", demonstrating hostility not only over the abortion issue but to central planks of the devolution plan.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, chairman of the committee, though himself a Scot, has sided with them against the Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar. Labour insiders said the ministers had forced

Mr. Dewar has been backed by the Welsh Secretary, Ron Davies,

But Mr Dewar has lost out over abortion. Insiders predict Mr Blair — who does not sit on the committee but has been called in to adjudicate - will back the "English lobby" and insist that responsibility for abortion should remain with the Westminster Parliament.

The white paper setting out de-tails of the Scottish Parliament will be published later this month and form the basis for a referendum in Scotland in September

Although Mr Dewar is said to be on course to deliver most of Labour's manifesto pledge on devo-lution, he has been bruised and will be open to criticism over abortion from Labour's nationalist wing as well as the Scottish National Party and the Roman Catholic Church.

He argued on the committee that Labour had promised to transfer all powers to a Scottish Parliament other than foreign affairs, defence,

Carolin Della Carolina della Carolin

Michael White

HE LABOUR government last week sustained its first defeat when Conservative-led peers voted to amend the Referendum Bill so that Scotland and Wales would have to stage their referendums on the same day.

The defeat by 101 votes to 94, which flies in the face of government policy, was immediately condemned by the leader of the Lords, Lord Richard. Though MPs will reverse it in the Commons, it raised the prospect of a constitutional row cast by hereditary peers under sen-

tence of constitutional extinction. The two days of the committee stage of the Referendum (Scotland and Wales) Bill were marked by Commons majority, Tony Blair is sil mianoeuvrings by Tory peers, who dislike the bill for both its content and its haste, but who are littery lest they give I have give I hav they give Labour a perfect excuse to 55 Lib Dems. The balance of power bring forward Lords reform.

Labour and Liberal Democrat 108 assorted independents. battles within the committee over public spending in Scotland, the level of public spending in Scotland in Scotlan

Scots voters one ballot paper in stead of two, to vote on both in principle of an Edinburgh assembly and its tax-raising powers.

Lord Richard argued that Wals needed a separate polling day provisionally September 25, is weeks after Scotland expects to vol - to prevent its public debate being Some MPs believe the true real

son is momentum: if Scotland safe "Yes", wavering Welsh voters my bury the doubts which made thes So twitchy are both sides # Westminster that ministers have

benchers in the Lords from tables amendments to the bill. Though he enjoys a 179 lies with the 324 crossbenchers in

Welfare to work gets tough

Duncan Campbell

of justice

Miscarriages

under review

A YOUNG man who was jailed in 1993 for killing a three-year-old boy by smashing his head with a golf club last week had his convic-

Paul Esslemont, who has fre quently been beaten up in prison for being a child-killer, wept in the dock as the Court of Appeal announced

Mr Esslemont, aged 21, from Coventry, was convicted at Birmingham crown court of the manslaug ter of Carl Kennedy, and was jalled for eight years. It had been alleged that he lost his temper with the boy, half-strangled him and struck him about the head 15 times with a golf

After an unsuccessful appeal in 1994, Mr Esslemont's case was taken up by the BBC's Rough Justice programme. In it, pathologist Bernard Knight cast doubt on the evidence that had indicated that golf-club had delivered the blows.

Mr Esslemont, who had no previous convictions, was charged with murder after police found blood-stains on his shoes and golf club. Fresh evidence suggested the stains could have been the result of his search near the area where the body was found.

In his judgment, Lord Justice Leggatt said that as it was now accepted that all of the injuries could not have been caused by the club, either another weapon would have had to be used, or all the injuries were inflicted with another weapon.

The judgment said Mr Esslemont would have had 10 or 15 minutes at most to carry out the killing and go back to his home, before returning a borrowed golf ball to his neighbour. "Yet there is no evidence that anybody saw anything amiss," said Lord Justice Leggatt. Meanwhile Gilbert "Danny" Mc-

Namee, who was jailed for 25 years for the 1982 Hyde Park IRA bombing, in which four soldiers and seven horses were killed, has had his case referred back to the Court of Appeal as a result of new evilence. It is the first case to be referred back by the new Criminal Cases Review Commission.

The main evidence against him was fingerprints on adhesive tape found with bomb-making equip-ment at the caches. In his defence it was claimed that he could have handled the tape innocently before it was used to make bombs.

Three young men jailed for life nine years ago are now hoping they will become the third high-profile alleged miscarriage of justice case to be reopened within a week.

Lawyers acting for the men believe they have sufficient new evidence for the case to be referred to

On October 12, 1987, newsagent Philip Saunders was viciously battered with a spade outside his Cardiff home. Five days later, he died of his injuries.
At first, the chief suspect was a

man seen by a witness in the area, described as 6ft with dark curly hair, wearing a blouson-type Jacket. The three men charged were Darren Hall and Ellis Sherwood,

both then aged 18 and petty crimi-hals, and Michael O'Brien, then 19, who had no record. All three were of slight bulld and about 5ft 5in tall.

Seumas Milne and Richard Thomas

OUNG dole claimants who refuse to take up any of the jobs or training options offered under the Government's welfare to work deal announced in the Budget will lose all their benefits, ministers announced last week.

Revealing the unexpectedly tough regime David Blunkett, the Education and Employment Secretary, rejected claims that the penalties were "draconian", and insisted the sanctions simply linked rights

The New Deal is intended to be

olds off the dole and put more than half the long-term unemployed into subsidised jobs or training.

The £3.5 million programme aims both to cut the claimant count and increase the employability of some of the most excluded of the obless. But advisers are acutely aware that the schemes could be awamped by job losses if the economy goes into a sharp downturn and unemployment builds up again. They are hoping that a mixture of higher taxes announced in the Budget, and modest interest rate rises,

will produce a "soft landing" rather

training policy, designed eventually consumer-led boom added to fears to take some 250,000 18- to 25-year- that the Bank of England may raise that the Bank of England may raise interest rates again this week to clamp down on the economy. The Confederation of British Industry said that retail sales remained buoyant last month, leading analysts to suggest that interest rates may rise

to 8 per cent by the end of the year. The sanctions regime for the under-25s who refuse to take part in the New Deal programme is essentially the same as that introduced as part of the Tory government's Job Secker's Allowance last year.

After a four-month "gateway" in duction period, when they are to be given a crash preparation course for the Government's flagship jobs and I than a deep recession. But signs of a lentry into the labour market, the

young unemployed will be pre-sented with several options: a private sector job with a wage, for which the employer gets a £60-a-week sub-sidy and a training organisation gets £750 for one-day-a-week training: work with a voluntary organisation or with an environmental task force, on benefits plus a £400 grant; or fulltime education or training.

If they refuse to take up any o the options without "good reason", all benefit will be withdrawn for two weeks, four weeks and then indefiitely. As under the JSA, the penalty will only be a 40 per cent loss of benefit if the claimant is deemed 'vulnerable" — for example if he or she has dependants or is pregnant.

Andrew Smith, the employment minister in day-to-day charge of the New Deal schemes, said the penal-

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Verdict: Guilty as charged

T BEARS saying again: British public life is amongst the least corrupt in the world. We have no Bettino Craxi, Gianni de Michelis or Bernard Taple here: no Mafia, no pork barrel. The sums involved in Westminster corruption make the Americans, the Spanish and even the Irish laugh. The great majority of MPs have always been bonest, decent and hard-working. But this bears saying again, too: there was in the late eightles the beginnings of a significant culture of corruption at Westminster. A small group of politicians began to get a sniff of the rich pickings that were dangled before them by the lobbying companies. It was not corruption on a vast scale, but it was not nothing, either; and the complacent sneers of MPs and tators as the villains were exposed over the past four years did no favours to the cause of honest politics in this country.

Now there is an official verdict, and that verdict is: Guilty as charged. Men who rose to hold the highest positions in British political life took secret sums of money to represent in Parliament a company under the threat of investigation by the Department of Trade and Industry. They took gifts, holidays and cash. They did their best to cheat the Inland Revenue. They charged their own constituents to represent them. They concealed their gifts, their holidays and their money from their own colleagues and from the voters. They lied to the press, they lied to their colleagues and lied to their superiors. When cornered, Neil Hamilton lled more elaborately and more viciously. Like Jonathan Aitken, he smeared his accusers and, repellently, sought to destroy careers. In this, he found willing accomplices in Parliament and even in some areas of the press.

All this, and more, is chronicled in Sir Gordon Downey's door-stopping 896-page report, published last week. Lord Salmon, who chaired a Royal Commission on Standards of Conduct in Public Life in 1974, wrote: "Corrupt dealings are secretive. Few, if any crimes, are harder to prove." There can be no doubt that Sir Gordon has done just that in a meticulous work of great care and balance. Mr Hamilton has the right to protest, and protest he inevitably will. But it was he who chose Sir Gordon, having failed in the courts. It is apparent to all that he is finished in public life, and it would be better for him quietly to come to terms with that finality.

This whole affair was the result of the failure of self-regulation. It was the work of the press and the press alone that led to the creation of the Nolan committee and the subsequent reforms. Sir Gordon's work would in all likelihood have been impossible without access to mountains of documents obtained on discovery through the courts; without the fruits of months of work by Guardian reporters and without the newspaper spending tens of thousands of pounds in legal fees to assist him.

It would be better in future for cases of this complexity and size to be dealt with by a Tribunal of Inquiry. It is also right that future Hamiltons and Smiths should not be able to hide behind parliamentary privilege, but should be prosecuted in the criminal courts. In any event, the rules should be changed to allow Sir Gordon to publish his own report rather than depend on a nod from the Standards and Privileges Committee or to be frus-trated by a prorogued Parliament. And one final thing: can we please reform Britain's libel laws?

Nato's eastern promise

T IS AN illusion that there is always a choice between a good and a bad course in international politics. Frequently, as with the decision to enlarge Nato, there would be difficulties whichever choice was made. What is certain is that if a choice once made is later reversed, nobody benefits from the resulting confusion and perception of weakness. As the members of the alliance gather in Madrid this week, there are critics, mainly in the United States, saying that the move to extend membership to some eastern states is a historic mistake. Their position was an honourable one before the die for expansion was cast, but is now less tenable. A Nato that had decided not to incorporate any eastern members would be one thing. A Nato that has emphasis on the long term could be jeopardised.

decided to bring them in, and does so, would be another. But a Nato which so decided, and then failed to do so because of a defeat in the legislature of its most important member state, would be an-

other article altogether. A busted flush, perhaps.

To say that the expansion of Nato is an illogical business is fair comment. The expected invitation to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will bring in three states whose military establishments are in a state of disarray. It will be years before they can bring more than limited contingents up to top Nato standards. Even so, they will have to spend a great deal of money, money on which the United States arms industry has already fixed a sharp eye. So expansion will not strengthen Nato militarily and will weaken the economies of new members. The arguments between the US and France over whether Romania and Slovenia should be part of the first wave have, meanwhile, opened up another fault line in the alliance. Further, as the critics point out, expansion stretches the alliance strategically and has offended the Russians, although not so far as deeply as was once feared. Why then has it been decided to do it?

The reason Nato is expanding is that eastern European countries pleaded, begged, argued, lectured, and hammered on the door. Could we really have just said No? Their enthuslasm may now have cooled somewhat, as they contemplate the costs, but they still want to join. The reasons include their fear of Russia, and also their fear of themselves, of the conflicts they might generate if their armed forces were not locked into an alliance managed in a sophisticated way by powerful states. Above all, admission to Nato and the European Union remains central to their aspirations to become truly European, Western, democratic, and "modern". This may seem a strange freight for a military alliance to bear, but Nato has never been a simple military alliance. It is, and remains, a complex political structure discharging many functions, some in mysterious ways.

Gordon Brown's tour de force

HE Labour government's first Budget for 18 years is a tour de force, even though there must doubts whether enough has been done to puncture the consumer boom. Gordon Brown delivered it with unremitting gravitas, gathering together all the themes he has so consistently espoused in re-cent years, and more. Against the austere back-drop of a sharp fiscal tightening be managed to fire a salvo of micro-economic measures that delighted Labour MPs and lots of interest groups. It was a Budget for big and small business, for investment, for filmmakers, for training, for welfare to work, for single mothers, for savers and for housebuilding if not house owning. And — dropping unexpectedly out of the sky at the very end of the speech - an extra £1.2 billion for the health service and £1 billion for schools (plus another £1.3 billion phased over five years). No one on the government benches seemed to worry about the disingenuous ness of these last measures since, though funded from the contingency reserve, they clearly breach departmental cellings on which Mr Brown had inadvisedly put a cap. Nor did anyone worry that the new 2.25 per cent rise in national health service pending next year is less than the 4 per cent rise he Conservatives had implemented during the last four years. When you are expecting nothing, anything is welcome.

Mr Brown certainly intends to be an iron chancellor. He is raising taxes (including the one-off windfall on utilities) by £5.9 billion this year, £6.6 billion pext year and £5.2 billion the year after. By the end of next year the Budget deficit will be down from £22.5 billion to only £5.5 billion. Of course | with a settled pattern of bad behavmerely planning something doesn't make it hap-pen. Remember, the first Medium Term Financial Strategy of the Conservatives promised something similar in 1981, but it didn't materialise. But that doesn't alter the courage with which the new Chancellor is tackling the excessive borrowing requirement he inherited. He is taking enough money out of the economy: the only question is whether he is taking it out of the right places. Mr Brown has done well in dismal fiscal circumstances to start rebuilding the pillars of the welfare state from a position of ongoing erosion. The only qualification is whether he has done enough to impen, consumer spending. If the Government doesn't get the short term right then its estimable

No place for Abacha's phoney democracy

Martin Woollacott

THE GRIM comedy of Nigerian politics lurched onward last week with the announcement that elections due soon are to be put off until next year. The reason for the postponement of the second set of polls in a series culminating in a presidential vote next year and a return to full civilian rule is unclear. But it is of a piece with other switches and subterfuges that have characterised General Sani Abacha's programme for the restoration of democracy.

The Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group was due to meet in London this week to discuss what recommendations on Nigeria it should put forward to the heads of state when they meet in Edinburgh in October. This is the first meeting of the group, set up in Auckland when Nigeria was suspended from the organisation after the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and his fellow defendants.

Nigeria is shaping up to become a critical test, perhaps the critical test, for the new British government's ethical foreign policy. The reason is that UK interests and responsibilities are far more significant and central in the Nigerian case than they are, say, in that of Indonesia. Nigeria's British connections are still substantial. A partly British corporation, Shell, is involved in the industry which sustains the regime. Britain is host to the Commonwealth summit later this year, which neans it will be expected to take a lead in this as in other matters.

Nigeria is under military rule and ought to be extricated from it. But the problem is larger than that, since a number of Nigerians of stature fear that a few more years of army government or of rule by a fraudulent "civilian" government controlled by a military clique will undo the nation itself. Men like the Nigerian Nobel Prize winner Wole Soyinka believe that the idea of Nigeria, which once attracted the loyalty and the idealism of most of its citizens, has become so croded by the years in which the generals have exploited and divided the people that "we may actually be witnessing a nation on the verge of ex-

The individuals and the groups that carry a country politically have been bribed, intimidated and coopted on the one hand, and killed, mprisoned and exiled on the other. There must be a limit to the endurance of this human fabric. Soyinka's fear that a country can wear out its nationhood, that it can be made "good for nothing", underlines the fact that Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth are not dealing here with just an episode, or even

The British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, has already declared that Nigeria has not taken the steps toward a restoration of democracy that would warrant the lifting of its suspension from the Commonwealth. A few months ago there was strictions on senior members of the a possibility that the regime's various cosmetic moves might just produce a Commonwealth constituency for restoring its membership. But there is now no chance of the suspension being lifted, so the Foreign dorsing, in a year's time, a dorsing in a year

question is whether, as Nigeria opposition groups demand, Nigera should be expelled, or credibly threatened with expulsion at the Edinburgh meeting.
The facts since Auckland, where

Commonwealth states committed

themselves to expulsion if there was "no demonstrable progress" in the next two years, are damning. The regime did announce a three-year ransition plan, with the army box ng out completely in October 1998. But the institutions set up as part of the transition process, notably the National Electoral Commission, and dubious. The commission has a thorised five political parties, which ssue uncannily similar pronounc ments urging Abacha to stand to the presidency next year. They are stooges or, at best co-opted elements. The regime has not talked to the real opposition and has continued to harass and detain its leaders Those in detention include Chief Abiola, the winner of the 1993 election which the military cancelled when their candidate, in spite of all their efforts to fix the result, unerpectedly lost. They also include more than 40 people held for an alleged coup attempt that few believe actually happened, and some opposition personalities picked up more recently. The government has re leased a handful of detainees, by arrested more. Some idea of the at democratic nature of this "return to democracy" can be gained from the fact that the laws governing the transition to democracy set fines and prison terms for anyone who criticises the process.

T IS truly bizarre that Nigeria is supposedly rescuing democracy in Liberia and Sierra Leone. The regime has undoubtedly gained little credit for its regional oper-tions, particularly in Washington and there are reports that the US State Department is reviewing its Nigerian policies, with some arguing for a marginally softer line. But in general, the regime's efforts to end its isolation have a despera and sometimes comic character. It the oddest case of all, General Abacha recently attended the Francisco cophone summit, weirdly claiming that French would from now on bea

national language of Nigeria. Expulsion is not a likely outcome of the Edinburgh summit, unless the regime commits some new out rage or unless Nigeria effective expels itself, as Pakistan and Soul.
Africa once did, by withdrawing.
Expulsion would strain a Commonwealth in which there remain rack. and ideological divisions and, in pr ticular, resistance to the idea forceful "Northern" meddling "Southern" affairs. But between pulsion and a mere maintenance d various kinds of pressure and sare tions could be considerably tight ened up. Many of the measure agreed at previous meetings of the Action Group, like various kinds of visa, educational and financial re-

regime, have yet to be out into The Commonwealth can be should be tougher. Above all, in dorsing, in a year's time, a meet change of mask by what would

Somaliland tries to break out of isolation Jean Hélène in Hargelsa

LMOST 10 years after being A battered by shelling. Hargeisa, capital of the Somaliland Republic, still carries the visible scars of that period - shattered buildings, razed schools, crumbling walls, and buildings riddled with bullet holes. On top of that are the land-mines that are still taking a toll among the people despite among 300 delegates - reconstructhe best efforts of a team of British mine-clearing experts who have been working here for the past year its capital, stable.

Somalia's former dictator, Siad Barre, set out to destroy Hargeisa after beating off the Issak rebels of the Somali National Movement (5NM), which briefly seized the city in June 1988. "It was worse than the German cities in 1945," recalled a city resident. "When I got back here in 1992 with my wife and children. who had been in a refugee camp in Ethiopia, we had to camp outside the ruins of our home for a fortnight until the mines were cleared in the

But in this former protectorate of Somaliland — it seceded in 1991, 31 years after being reunified with Southern Somalia, which had once been an Italian colony — it is not

just poverty that is holding back reconstruction. Murderous clashes between Issak subclans have long the city is still deserted — and littered with land-mines — while its 100,000 residents camp out in the liscouraged those who were preopen country where they are being looked after by the humanitarian orpared to invest in the country, if only to rebuild their own homes. zanisation Action Contre la Faim However, since the end of the last Action Against Hunger). The Soconference in February — which enabled Mohamed Ibrahim Egal to maliland shilling, introduced in 1996, and already battered by inflabe re-elected to the presidency after tion, is still not legal tender. five months of costly negotiations

Le Monde

tion has picked up speed. People largeisa or Berbera. "Where's the now consider the country, or at least money that the government is collecting?" many ask as they try to For Egal, the priority today is to estimate the total amount of the "sell Somaliland to the world comlaxes imposed at the port of munity". He speaks of livestock Berbera and collected from the imbreeding, fishing and agricultural ports of qat, which arrives daily from Ethiopia. If this region were development projects, but for the moment he is trying to cobble toproperly run, it would be prospergether a government, which is a ous," said a Western expert. tricky exercise in that he has to The authorities have to maintain

COMMENT

Mouna Naïm

in army of 25,000 men, far too large for a country with a population estimated at 1.7 million (just under 1 million have fled the region). But enrolling former militiamen in the regular army was the price that had to be paid to end the anarchy, even though their primary loyalties are still to their own clans.

The road linking Hargelsa and Berbera, which just two years ago had no fewer than 70 unofficial

E VERYBODY agrees that since the Israeli-Palestinian

settlement at Har Homa, the Middle East peace process has

negotiations broke off after

been in peril. Egypt's President Hosni

Jubarak and Jordan's King

Hussein have spoken of their

concern to France's President

ment only Egypt has made con-

crete proposals to bring Israel and the Palestinians together.

acques Chirac. But for the mo-

But its efforts ran up against the

Israeli government's unaccept-

able position that it was willing

to suspend building of the settle-ment for four days (during a reli-

gious holiday) if the Palestinians

The French president realises

agreed to resume peace talks.

the gravity of the situation. Following his meeting this week

with the chairman of the

Palestine Authority, Yasser

Arafat, he said that France was

quite worried about the possibil

ity of "uncontrollable terrorist

acts" taking place, the effect of

not only the region, but also the

United States and Europe", He

said that it was "up to both the

United States and Europe to do

everything possible to get the

peace process back on track".

by Chirac to involve the Euro-

pean Union in the Middle East

peace process, where the US has

set itself up as the sole arbiter.

Paris believes that Washington

should be encouraged to stop

playing its waiting game, The EU, banished to the sidelines,

has done everything in its power

This is not yet another effort

DJIBOUTI **ETHIOPIA** Corruption is another reason for SOMALIA the complaints often heard in Mogadishu @

> checkpoints, is now open — the only traces of the years of fighting that remain are the bridges destroyed by SNM guerrillas.

For the moment, the resentment against those living in the south i shared by most people, who hold all he Somalis responsible for the terrible repression that they suffered. Nevertheless, some readily admit that when resentments finally disappear "maybe 30 or 40 years from now, it'll be time to think of a new northsouth union, but with solid guarantees of even-handed treatment".

@ Hargelea SOMALILAND

Middle East peace at risk

Bertrand de la Grange n Mexico City

Aztec Sphinx battles on

▲ PSYCHOLOGICAL profile drawn up by an agency specialising in executive headhunting describes Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas, the leftwing Democratic Revolution party (PRD) candidate for mayor of Mexico City in the July 13 election, as "tenacious, methodical and dogged", in addition to being "remote" and "unflappable" in the face

of adversity. Indeed, it has required a good deal of tenacity to stand up to the hostility of a government that has never forgiven him for breaking with the Institutional Revolutionary erty (PRI) in 1987 and running for the presidency the following year.

This "betrayal" is all the harder or his former associates to stomach is Cárdenas is the son of Lázaro Cardenas, the most popular of Mexico's former presidents, who ran the country from 1934 to 1940. While in office he nationalised the oil indusry and gave new life to the agrarian eform decreed in the wake of the 910 revolution.

Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas ected to the senate in 1976, and our years later became governor of Michoacán, his family's home state.

much controversy. His followers are grateful to him for distributing land o poor peasants, introducing the leaching of native languages in schools and helping to reduce incidences of drunkenness by closing down many taverns. His opponents, on the other hand, criticise him for misusing his authority and practising cronylsm, charges levelled at

nany other PRI governors. However, his former constituents lon't seem to bear any grudge; indeed a large majority of them have been continuing to vote for him since he quit the PRL



strike the right balance between the

clans. He claims that the constitu-

tion is "one of the most liberal ever"

and says he will ban only tribal and

Not everyone in Hargelsa shares

the official optimism. "In six years

of independence, we have had two

civil wars," said one man. "And the

government still controls only half

the country." Two years after the

bloody fighting in the Burao region,

religious-based political parties.

Cárdenas . . . learned to smile

In 1986, Cárdenas and a handful of PRI officials set up a "democratic wing" of the party in the belief that the "technocrats", elected at the beginning of 1982, had drifted away from the "values of the revolution". Running for the presidency in 1988 as the capdidate of the Democratic National Front, a coalition of four amall leftwing parties, Cárdenas was believed to have won. However, the PRI's Carlos Salinas de Gortari was finally declared president, amid claims by Cardenas that he was the

victim of an "enormous fraud". In 1989, he founded his own party, governorship is a source of I the PRD, which was loined by ever-increasing number of defectors from the PRI, the leftwing opposition and, in particular, former communists. In the 1994 election: Cárdenas suffered a severe defeat, gaining barely 16 per cent of the vote.

But far from being discouraged by the setback, he patiently built up the PRD, toned down his public rhetoric and, without abandoning his severe image as the "Aztec Sphinx", has learned to crack an occasional smile — which currently adorns his campaign posters in Adorns Mexico City. (July 5)

to get Israel and the Palestinians to sit down to talks. But the diplomatic efforts of its special envoy in the Middle East, Miguel Angel Moratinos, have produced no results. His chances of success are practically nil so long as israel began building the Jewish Washington does nothing.

The EU sent the US a 10-point proposal to break the deadlock. Vashington merely acknowledged receipt of the plan. In Paris this week, Arafat suggested that Europe use its eco-nomic muscle against Israel, It is a tall order. At the recent summit in Amsterdam France had great difficulty getting its 14 EU partners to adopt a simple statement inviting the "peoples of the Middle East to join with the peoples of Europe to build a harmonious future" and urging the "Israeli and Palestinian leaders

to get things moving again.
The declaration also appealed to the "Israeli people" not "to rule out the possibility of a [Palestinian] state".

The Denver Group of Seven Plus One talks were more evasive than the Amsterdam meeting. There the participants simply pledged to give "peace a new mo-mentum". President Bill Clinton Howed this up by promis do "everything reasonably possible to prevent the peace process capsizing". And he told Chirac that he was considering certain ideas, but has so far not revealed what he intends to do.

"The idea of peace is disappearing in people's minds," said Saëb Erakat, the chief Palestinian negotiator and minister of local government. "The United States is very skilled in crisis management diplomacy. How many more people should die for President Clinton to make a move?"

(July 2)

Teenagers' racism shocks older Swedes

Benoît Peltier in Stockholm

AVE we told our children. have we explained clearly enough to them that this must never happen again?" It was a shocked and grave-faced Göran Persson, prime ninister of Sweden, who put that mestion to members of parliament. This" was the Holocaust.

Persson was commenting on the disturbing" conclusions of a survey of teenage racism conducted among 8.000 Swedish schoolchildren aged between 12 and 18, it revealed that only 66 per cent of the children polled declared they were quite certain that the Nazis exterminated 6 million Jews during the second world war. This is a lower percentage than in other European countries, says the team that conducted the survey, which was commissioned by the Social Democratic government.

Some of the other findings have also prompted embarrassed reactions; only 47 per cent of the pupils were prepared to concede that "democracy is the best way of governing Sweden". 8 per cent disagreed, and the rest said they had no opinion. More than 12 per cent of the secondary school children admitted to having listened to nea-Nazi nosie on several occasions, and one in 10 considered "the mixing of races is a crime against nature". Finally, 12 per cent thought that "Iews have too much influence in the world today"

While politicians and experts refuse to believe that even a significant minority -- let alone a majority - of Sweden's young people have fallen prey to racism, they acknow-ledge that there are gaps in the country's education system. The prime minister has announced that a campaign will be launched to give Swedish families more information about what happened during the second world war.

Sweden's Jewish community be lieves that "memory is the best de fence against hate and xenophobia The poll results have to be seen in the light of that comment. Because of Sweden's traditional policy of neutrality, the country was spared the horrors and the suffering of the war, noted Stephane Bruchfeld, one of the authors of the survey. The teenagers polled had, therefore, never heard their grandparents talk about these things.

The concessions made to the

Germans and the business deals concluded with them during the war have been quickly forgotten. It was only after the Swiss recently began taking a long, hard look at their wartime behaviour that the Swedes have (re)discovered that their country had not been blameless. Sweden, for example, exported iron ore to Germany to keep Berlin's war machine going, and its central bank accepted gold stolen from the Nazis'

victims as payment.

The optimistic expectation is that the publication of this survey will make a positive contribution to the current debate on racism and the integration of immigrants in a country that has no equivalent of France's extremist National Front.

(July 3)

6 0 Catherine Bédarida

THEN the Khmer Rouge, headed by Pol Pot, took the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh, in April 1975 Em Theay was a dancer and respected teacher. By 1979, the year which saw the fall of a regime that had caused the death of millions, almost none of Cambodia's dancers were still alive.

It took Theay several days to make her way back to the capital on foot. She was able to save her treasure - three books of songs and musical scores, as well-bound as bibles - by hiding them at the bottom of her bags.

She then got together with handful of survivors in premises near the shattered National Theatre building. "After all the forced labour we'd done, our hands were like peasants' hands," Theay remem-

ments are an essential element of movements. According to Khmer classical Khmer dance.

She found a damaged theatrical mask in the street. "I offered up a prayer to it and got my son to mend she says. The masks, costumes and musical instruments used in classical dance had all been dis-

More serious was the fact that the repertoire itself was in danger of being lost: there existed no written codification of the choreographies. But a few temple sculptures and the great fresco that adorns the surrounding walls of the Silver Pagoda, near the Royal Palace, represented dance scenes.

Artisans and musical-instrument makers were able to refer to them when repairing or recreating masks and instruments. But only the surviving dancers, who remembered how they used their bodies, made it

roles, including those of men. "Several elderly dancers knew each dance character. In the course of their day-to-day teaching, they managed to remember bits and pieces of songs and dances, then the whole repertoire came back to them," says Proeung Chhieng, dean of the choreographical arts faculty in Phnom Penh.

He was initiated into the art by his grandmother, who worked as a dance teacher for the ballet run by Prince Norodom Sihanouk's mother. From his birth in 1949 until the age of eight, he lived with his grandmother, accompanying her to the exercise room every day.

Chhieng and his sister were chosen by her as a gift to the queen. In the state religion, which combines animist, brahmanic and Buddhist possible to reconstitute the dance | influences, the royal family is the

embodiment of gods on earth, and | 600 students, is now run by Chhieng. dancers, in their capacity as sacred ntermediaries, honour them.

When Pol Pot seized power Chhieng was separated from his family and forced to leave the capial, along with most of its inhabitants. When he returned in 1979 he learned that his sister had died.

In 1980, a ballet school was reopened. It soon had 500 children and teenagers as pupils, most of them war orphans. They each received a small government grant and, because they had no family, they boarded at the school, Each morning the youngest

pupils did hand exercises to make their joints more flexible. Later they learned dance movements. Eventually they each specialised in a particular role in the Ramayana, the great Hindu epic adapted by the Khmers n about the ninth century. The Royal Arts University re-

opened in 1989. It had five faculties: music, fine arts, architecture, archaeology and the theatrical arts. last faculty, which has

In its early years, the faculty concentrated mainly on the technique of body movements in an alternation reconstitute the repertoire. But it now stresses "the inner being the serenity and the purity of the dancers," snys Chhleng.

Their songs and dances have been recorded and preserved in the archives. In 1992, an Australian director, Sally Ingleton, made a don-mentary, The Tenth Dancer, about the school. It shows Thesy teaching the precise and infinitely varied go tures of the hands, mainly to he best pupil, Sok Chea. Theay, Chea, Chhieng and the

Ballet of the Royal Khmer Academy - 40 dancers and musicians in all are currently in France. After po-forming in Montpellier, they are due to dance at the Paris Quartier (Di Festival on July 15-18, It will be an aceptional opportunity for audience to admire an ancient art that some how managed to survive one of this century's greatest political tragedis.

Camera shy in Reims

Michel Guerrin

POR nine years, the organisers of the Printemps de Reims photography festival fought tooth and nail to defend their event against all the odds.

A combination of unpredictable weather, a standoffish local population, occasionally substandard exhibition venues and, above all, a chronic shortage of funds meant that a hand-ful of enthusiasts led by Gérard Taiva had to move heaven and earth to keep the festival going.

There were no plans to celebrate the festival's 10th instalment (which continues until September 15), for it will be the last Printemps de Reims. The festival has been wound up because its organisers are now too battle-fatigued to keep it going, and also because there have been disagreements within Priorité Ouverture, the association that created the festival.

The atmosphere of gloom surrounding the festival's imminent demise has now been further tainted by an act of censorship prompted by the controversy over paedophilia that has swept France. Priorité Ouverture invited 12 of the 300 photogra-phers who have exhibited at the Printemps de Reims in the past to show some of their hitherto unseen or unpublished work at this year's festival.

The 12 have now been reduced to 11. A few days ago, pictures taken by the Spanish photographer, Pere Formiguera, were censored by the city's neo-Gaullist mayor, Jean Falala. The photographs in question are 71 portraits of a boy taken against a neutral background. In the first picture, he is three, and in the last. 11.

The problem is that they are full-frontal portraits of a naked child. "In the present context, you can't show a boy with his nitals visible and not blurred, alala explains. "This is the first time I have intervened in my 30 years as a politician. I loathe censorship, but it's my duty to protect kids. I believe these kinds of pictures may prompt certain individuals to act out their fantasies."

It so happens that a teacher of

figure-skating in Reims has just been accused of paedophilia. There's no connection," says Falala. "Unfortunately problems of this kind crop up all the time, in Reims as elsewhere.

The scandal has sharpened

make it quite clear they have been censored," says Patrick Fabry, president of Priorité hibited the photographs at a "but there would have been

Formiguera has decided not to travel to Reims. "I took the decision never to set foot again in my beloved city of Reims just as long as it is run by its present politi-cal leaders," he writes in a mani-

He also explains what his project is all about. For the past seven years he has been photographing 32 friends and mem-bers of his family, of both sexes that is still in progress. It has been shown in many European countries, and twice in Paris.

Contacted in Barcelona, Formiguera told Le Monde: "I thought it was all a joke. It wouldn't have surprised me in have to call the whole history of

Formiguera's work will be discussed at the Rencontres year is, aptly enough, "Photography and politics". (July 2)

divisions within Priorité Ouverture. While some of its members indignantly point out that "you can't solve the problem by hiding pictures", others condemn the mayor's move but say that they "understand the political

logue where Formiguera's pic-tures were going to be published have been left blank, "It's to Ouverture. "We could have ex-

and all ages. He will continue to It is, then, a longstanding projec

photograph them at the rate of one picture a month until 2000.

countries like the United States or Britain, but in France ... No than I do, but to censor my picculpable. If you start attacking nude portraits of children, you

art into question." d'Arles photography festival (till August 18), whose theme this

The pages in the festival cata-

non-municipal venue," he adds, voyeuristic overtones."

one condemns paedophilia more tures is to make the human body



In and out of love . . . Bardot and Charrier in 1959, but

Bringing Bardot to book

Marion Van Renterghem Va Réponse à Brigitte Bardot by Jacques Charrier Michel Lafon 344pp 125 francs

TACQUES CHARRIER, former French film star (best known for his role in Marcel Carné's 1958 film, Les Tricheurs), audacious film pro-ducer and now a painter, is normally a man of few words. But he has decided to break his silence and reply to an attack on him by his ex-wife, the pouting star who made the whole world jealous of him during

their fleeting marriage. Ma Réponse à Brigitte Bardot is Charrier's attempt to set the record straight after Bardot gave her version of their marriage in Initiales E 3, published last year by Grasset.

We all have different ways of unbosoming ourselves, so to speak. the world in general, a world where mosques and minarets have replaced the "spires of our abandoned villages" and where "standards of

behaviour have so deteriorated". She was also scathing about some of the men in her life, includ-

usband, and their son Nicolas. For 80 of the book's 560 pages they both get short shrift. Charrier is depicted as an egoist, an authoritarian profi-teer and a failed actor, in short "a bourgeois down to his arsehole".

As for Nicolas, Bardot did everything she could to get rid of that "shapeless foetus". But he was born. "When I regained consciousness and realised it was my very own baby who was gently moving on me, I started screaming and beg-ging for him to be taken away. I had borne him for nine nightmarish months, and I didn't want to see him again." She would have preferred. she said, "to have given birth to a

Charrier is not someone who likes making a fuss. In the 37 years since their son was born, he has never until now made any reference in public to his youthful passion for Bardot hardly showed herself to Bardot. But this time he felt he had advantage in Initiales B. B. She to speak his mind, since he failed to made no secret of her low opinion of | get the offending 80 pages excised when Bardot's book was published and was awarded only 150,000 france (\$26,000) in damages.

Meanwhile Bardot's broadside went on to become a best-seller; with 500,000 copies sold, it, was Grasset's most successful book of ing Charrier, her second ex- the year. The harm had been done.

explains. "I wrote it for my childre to re-establish the truth. If I was able to concentrate on my paints?
I can assure you I would be gladly done without this kind a publicity." His publisher Middle Lafon, who specialises in "session who spec tional" books, hopes it will st 100,000 copies.

Charrier's tone is calm. He has bone to pick with Bardot. He steel wants to say that they loved other and that she was delight

when Nicolas was born. In passing he refers to Baris "ideological leanings", the thing she passed on to him from parenta' legacy was her faith library, which included works Goebbels and Goering as well as autographed copy

Kampf.
Bardot took out proceeding against Charrier and his publish in an attempt to get his book drawn. On June 10, her case to

(June 21)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colom World copyright by O Le Monde, Paris All rights strictly reserved

Propulsion Laboratory resolved a vorrisome communication breakdown that had delayed the deploy-For 12 hours, the glitch had marred an otherwise near-perfect trollers received confirmation that a

Mars Robot Set to Explore Red Planet

instructions to investigate its first target rock: a football-sized lump The Pathfinder team at NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, running on euphoria and adrenaline as the mission's winning streak continued for a third day, worked exhausting hours to begin exploring Mars and

inalyze the accelerating torrent of The 2-foot-long, 1-foot-high rover ojourner, which ventured slowly onto the Martian surface for the first time late last Saturday, "is the robotic equivalent of Neil Armstrong on the surface of Mars," said rover scientist Henry Moore. Pictures from the surface have reealed a geological cornucopia waiting at ground controllers' virtual botic feet to be the subjects of the

nuclear arms, according to a CIA and technology to Pakistan, and a

report to Congress released last key supplier to Iran lof such nuclear

dous variety of assistance to both last week that although China's be-lran's and Pakistan's ballistic missile havior is "better than what critics

ojourner's first-ever, on-site chemial analysis of Martian geology.
There is a wonder to this landing ite," said Peter Smith of the University of Arizona, lead acientist for the Pathfinder camera team.

HINA and Russia were the

World's premier exporters of

eapons of mass destruction or re-

ated technologies during the latter

half of 1996, and assisted countries

including Iran, India and Pakistan in

gas weapons, or a capability to make

Using unusually blunt language,

the unclassified six-page CIA report

repeatedly pointed a finger at China

and Russia and said that gaining

their cooperation will be "key to any

future efforts" to stop the prolifera-

tion of worrisome arms to rogue

The Chinese provided a tremen-

nations or provocative regions.

Kathy Sawyer in Pasadens

bbed "Barnacle Bill."

oming data and images.

THE SOJOURNER, the first

Martian surface last Sunday with

mobile geologist on Mars, nosed around the jagged

Sojourner's activation came after The 3-D color stereo camera aboard the Pathfinder lander has alground controllers at NASA's Jet ready returned spectacular images spanning the horizon, revealing a harsh landscape that is studded with a stunning array of rock for-Late last Sunday, ground con-

iny explosive had retracted a bolt,

height, reaching an altitude of over

could take a more detailed portrait

This unprecedented high-resolu-

tion 3-D, stereo, color panorama,

dubbed the "Monster Pan," will en-

able team members at mission con-

trol wearing special 3-D goggles to

view the scene almost as if they

were on the surface themselves.

They can, in effect, look around and

determine where each rock is and

The \$25 million, 23-pound solar

powered Sojourner, which moves at

ess than a half-inch per second, has

three cameras, six spiked wheels, a

of the surrounding area.

The Washington Post

performance by the spacecraft since it bounced in a cocoon of giant air bags to a safe landing on July 4 to allowing the camera to pop up like a iack-in-the-box atop a mast to its full begin the first exploration of Mars five feet above the surface so it

Scientists hope a steady stream of scientific data sent back will eventually allow them to determine details about Mars, including the Red Planet's composition, how it was formed and what occurred in its history, including whether eons ago a great flood did indeed rush through the Ares Vallis site where Pathfinder landed.

Neither the Sojourner nor the lander is equipped to detect signs of life. But the \$267.5 million mission is designed as the first of a series of expeditions that could eventually answer that question, which has been the subject of intense debate since scientists reported finding evidence of ancient primitive life in an asterold from Mars discovered in

question, said the report. It was

Nonproliferation Center at the

direction of the House and Senate

intelligence committees and said it

reflected a consensus view among

"China also was the primary

government proliferation experts.

source of nuclear-related equipment

equipment] during this reporting

period . . . Russia supplied a variety of ballistic missile-related goods to

foreign countries . . . especially to

Iran. Russia was an important

source for nuclear programs in Iran and, to a lesser extent, India and

Commenting on China's prolifer-

ation activities, a U.S. official said

Pakistan," the report said.

unique suspension and a laser system, which will help the robot negotiate the treacherous terrain. The rover analyzes the composi-

principal supplier of conventional

has been reported previously by

cast a spotlight on several lesser-

known transactions related to the

proliferation of weapons of mass

firms in India, as well as China, had

supplied Iran with equipment for

making poison gas - although only

Chinese firms were sanctioned by

Washington in May for knowingly

The CIA report also sald that

making the sales.

Although some of this commerce

arms to Iran.

China and Russia Top Nuclear Arms Sales

plied Egypt with equipment to make medium-range Scud ballistic mis-siles, while Iran supplied similar equipment to Syria. It described programs" during the period in | claim," Beijing still needs to enact a these transactions as part of a trend in which many Third World coun comprehensive regulatory system completed last month by the CIA's | to control its exports of potentially sensitive commercial goods. The official also complained that China has now displaced Russia as the tries "have been trying to reduc their dependence on imports by de-

probe called the Alpha Proton X-ray

Spectrometer. The device bons-

bards the target with subatomic par-

ticles, and based on the nature of

their bounce, reveals the composi-

While the Sojourner began its

exploration, the Pathfinder lander

which will takes stereoscopic.

color pictures and study the atmos-

phere and weather for at least a

month - settled into the Martian

late summer at its equatorial land-

meteorological sensors provided a

report on the local weather. light

winds gusting up to 10 mph (though they would feel to a human more

like 1 mph because the atmosphere

is only about one one-hundredth the

pressure of Earth's), said Tim Schofield of JPL, leader of the

The temperatures overnight

reached a low of minus 127 degrees

Fahrenheit, he said, rivaling the

coldest ever recorded on Earth

(minus 128.8 degrees was recorded

meteorology team.

The lander's windsock and other

ion of the object.

veloping an indigenous production capability" for dangerous arms. The report alleged that India, Syria, and Libya, for example, have attempted to obtain equipment re police and justice system be placed U.S. officials, the CIA report also | lated to missile production, but did not say how successful they had been. It said that Libya was shop ping in Europe, the former Soviet Union, and the Far East, while Syria was shopping in North Korea and

The report also highlights Germany as "the favorite target" for purchases by countries pursuing weapons of mass destruction, but is ambiguous about how much equipment has recently leaked from Gercharges would be filed in connecduring the period in question, ment has n North Korea and Russia had sup-

Top Brass Take Flak on Somalia

Howard Schnelder in Helifax

ANADIAN peacekeeping troops in Somalia were "victimized" by commanders who sent them into the field unprepared and who ignored problems developing in an airborne regiment until they escalated into the torture and killing of a Somali teenager, a commission established to review the country's troubled 1992-93 African mission has concluded.

Far from being the fault of "a few bad apples," the events in Somalia reflected "systemic, organizational and leadership failures" in the command structure of the Canadian Defense Forces, the commission's chairman, Justice Gilles Letourneau, said last week during an Ottawa news conference at which the

study was released. Defense Minister Art Eggleton immediately criticized the report as overly barsh and "insulting," comments that reflect ongoing controversy over Canada's response to the Somalia affair, Eggleton and a predecessor who cut off the commission's work at its most sensitive stage contend that Lanada's military already learned from its mistakes of Somalia and should be allowed to "out the past to rest."

However, after a two-year investigation into an episode that stained Canada's image as global keeper of the peace, the commission asserted that the military's problems run far deeper than the country's political and military leaders have

The problems were evident from the start of Canada's involvement in Somalia, according to the report, when senior officials overlooked known discipline problems in the airborne regiment and assigned it to the mission without proper training or preparation for peacekeeping is the midst of a civil war. They continued in the field, where officers ig nored incidents of "thuggery" and improper use of weapons among the

in the 1980s in the Antarctic). When two Somali youths were During the day, temperatures never rose above minus 8 degrees Fahshot in the back after apparently trying to steal supplies from a Canadian base, the incident was ruled to be within the "rules of engagement," even though a military doctor said he thought a criminal investigation was needed.

And ultimately, the commission found, the problems continued as senior officers tried to manipulate information to play down the inci dents in Somalia, and later lied t

The commission's report, titled "Dishonoured Legacy," included recommendations that the military under independent command and that an inspector general be established to investigate military opera-

The members of the airborne regiment responsible for the torture ling of Shidane Arone, a Somal teenager, were prosecuted; a private was convicted of manslaughter, and a sergeant attempted suicide before facing trial. Letourneau said that it tion with peacekeepers' deeds.



Pirates are terrorizing the high

seas, reports John Grissim

Late one evening in September 1996, the

Corfu. Owner Keith Hedley and three friends

were asleep aboard. Four men in a speedboat

them at gunpoint while they ransacked the yacht. Alerted by the shotgun blasts, Greek

police arrived and a gun battle erupted. Hed-

ey was killed in the cross-fire. The pirates

Piracy is back. These incidents were

among the 224 reported attacks that occurred

last year. While notable for their savagery,

they are representative of the modern-day

acts of piracy that are occurring on the high

seas, in coastal waters, at anchor and even at

dockside, involving vessels of every type and

flag, from sailing yachts and small ferries to

The phenomenon is so new that an orga-

nized effort to compile statistics did not begin

until 1992. That year, 106 attacks were re-

ported, and the yearly totals have been rising

ever since. Authorities believe the statistics

don't reflect the extent of the problem. They

suspect that incidents go unreported - be-

cause of fears of retribution (26 people were murdered last year alone in piracy attacks)

and because many shipmasters pressured by

tight delivery schedules may not want to risk

lengthy delays in port dealing with investiga-tions. Such avoidance, coupled with the fact

that law enforcement agencies in many coun-

tries give low priority to (or ignore altogether)

piratical attacks in their waters, not only

nasks the true dimensions of the threat, but

has encouraged pirate gangs in some regions

ply their deadly trade with little fear of

huge chemical tankers and container ships.

nanaged to escape in their speedboat.

not been seen since.

HE U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration last Sunday confirmed the death of Amado Carrillo Fuentes, the leader of Mexico's most powerful drug cartel, who died last week following eight hours of plastic surgery to drastically alter his appearance.

Mexican officials invited DEA agents to view the body and observe the identification procedures at the funeral home in Carrillo's home state of Sinaloa, DEA Administrator Thomas A. Constantine said in a telephone interview. The DEA agents also photographed the body.

Constantine said that according to information from U.S. intelligence and Mexican officials, Carrillo and his organization had been under increasing pressure during the last six months, forcing the drug baron to live as a fugitive. Constantine said "fairly reliable sources" indicated Carrillo recently had flown to Russia, Cuba and South American countries "constantly looking for a safe haven."

Because of that, Constantine said, Carrillo's desiré to undergo massive plastic surgery made sense.

Narcotics experts estimate about 70 percent of the cocaine used in the United States - a multibillion dollar trade - comes through Mexico, and Mexican drug trafficking organizations recently have begun to take over U.S. markets from Colombian competitors.

"Amado Carrillo Fuentes was arguably the most powerful drug trafficker in Mexico," Constantine said. "The disruption his death will cause among Mexican drug traf-ficking organizations will be significant. Law enforcement on both sides of the border should capitalize on the ensuing confusion and redouble our efforts to destroy his

The Mexican attorney general's office said in a statement that a man had been admitted on Thursday last week under the name of Antonio Flores Montes to the Santa Monica hospital, a small, private Mexico City clinic, for extensive plastic surgery on his face and liposuction of his body. The patient underwent eight

hours of surgery, then was moved to Room 407 in the hospital, accord
Mexican authorities later



tor making rounds discovered the patient dead in his bed, the state-

The attorney general's office said it conducted an autopsy and finger-print tests on the body, but its state-ment added, "Although from the tests carried out so far there are indications that the body which al-legedly belongs to Antonio Flores Montes is really that of Amado Carrillo Fuentes, the [attorney general] cannot, at the moment, affirm this with total certainty.

On Friday last week the body was flown by chartered airplane to Sinaloa's capital, Cullacan. Officials of the Mexican attorney general's

ing to the Mexican attorney general. The following morning a docored coffin under heavy security ored coffin under heavy security after a vitriolic argument with family members, according to news reports from Culiacan.

Carrillo, 41, was known as the "Lord of the Skies" because he ploneered flying large shipments of co-caine from Colombia directly to the Mexican-U.S. border in large jets. While building his empire, he skillfully negotiated with Colombian cocaine cartels to take over an increasing share of the drug distribu-tion within the United States.

The drug baron also excelled in corrupting Mexican politicians and law enforcement officials to guarantee impunity for his actions. Earlier this year, Mexico's top anti-drug official was jailed for allegedly being

Tyson Should Have Been Given an Earful Long Ago

OPINION Ellen Goodman

ET ME see if I have this right. After all, I've gone a few rounds with Mike Tyson and the brain gets a little addled in these encounters. Fortunately, the only holes in my ears are the ones I put earrings

But if I have it right, the outpouring of outrage, the shock on the part of sportswriters and fans, is not because the convicted rapist once assaulted a woman's body in a hotel room but because he assaulted Evander Holyfield's aural organs in

a boxing ring.

If I have it right, the post-fight crowd that screamed and made obscene gestures at the 31-year-old excon for his inappropriate use of teeth, never threw water bottles at him for misusing his other body parts. They never attacked him for saying, "I like to hurt women when I make love to them. I like to hear them scream. . . . It gives me pleasure."

If I have it right, moreover, the contrite champ of chomps who admitted that he'd "snapped," who apologized to "the people who expected more from Mike Tyson," and promised to seek help, never expressed the most fleeting remorse, he itsy-bitsiest contrition to Desiree

Until now, the fact that Tyson is a sex offender who couldn't move onto your street without registering with the police, did nothing to undermine his box office attraction. In fact, he was more respected than Oliver McCall, scorned last February because of his refusal to fight.

Now, I admit I have problems with boxing. I don't get it. Never will. Explain to me why It's perfectly OK to beat the brains out of someone but not to bite his ears? Holyield's lawyer, Jim Thomas, said in high dudgeon. This is a sport with rules and regulations. It's not street fighting." The idea of boxing as contained violence? Hitting someone without anger? Hurting others by the rules?

The gentleman's sport of fisticuffs cludes me and most of those with my chromosomes, not in-cluding the two professional women and it's a career-suspending injur-

Tyson and Holyfield. But there is semething especially bizarre when this man finally becomes a parish for breaking the rules in the ring rother than breaking the laws out side the ring.

Let us go back to those marical yesteryears. Not all the way back to adolescence when Tyson's pals remembered him mugging old ladies in the elevator. Not all the way to the days when he said that without boxing, he would have been he is or dead. One of those."

Just to the 1992 trial when crow cheered the champ, and when Desiree Washington was regarded by many as either a woman who asked for it or a racial traitor trying to bring another black man down if Holyfield were a woman, these folks would have said that Mike was just nibbling her ear fondly and she took Fast forward to the day in 1995

when the Indiana prison door opened and Tyson was treated as it he'd come out of retirement, not out of jail. To the hero's welcome here ceived in Harlem that was billed as "Day of Redemption" though hews redeemed without ever admitting

Remember the children w danced and sang to the "The Mike" Tyson Rap": "True, he's not your households he's got more props'meaning respect. The rapist was i role model.

Those of us who hoped the unt pentant fighter would be shume by fans and such moral forces a Showtime or MGM were drowns out by the sound of the cash regis ter ringing. The ex-con was an em bigger draw.

But now - now -the phones at ringing off the hook in Nevada with folks demanding their money back.

Now the Nevada State Athletic Commission has temporarily suspended him. Now the man says he will see help to "tell me why I did what did." Now people say, wondering "he turned into a wild man."

Well, don't bite my ear off, by Piracy has always flourished in narrow, they're a touch late here. Assant! woman and you can still be a or tender. Gnaw a tidbit off a man'sex

Mary Jordan and Kevin Suliivan in Seoul

ooks, he sees dollar signs.

Korean businessman Kim Young II

Since 1990, Kim has imported \$10

million worth of goods from the

Communist North: sesame seeds,

noney, cement, beans, fish, herbal;



gions that are rarely patrolled. But lately, a new area of vulnerability has emerged: outer anchorages in busy, crowded ports where the emergency response time by harbor police may be 30 minutes to an hour or more.

Attacks have become especially prevalen n Asian waters, where the absence of naval power, coastal police patrols, cooperative law enforcement and treaty agreements have made the shipping lanes a pirate's dream. Criminal enterprises using sophisticated knowledge of the shipping industry, and often aided by compliant local officials, can plunder with minimal risk. In some cases, pirates have tled up the bridge crews of large oil tankers and freighters, leaving the ships adrift and creating a scary potential for grounding or collision and an environmentally disastrous oil

In 1992, faced with the realization that piracy had become a serious problem, the In-ternational Maritime Bureau (IMB), a nonprofit division of the Paris-based International Chamber of Commerce, convened a meeting on piracy between representatives of the shipping industry and law enforcement. The result was the creation of the Regional Piracy Centre (RPC), operating out of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, largely because Asia was the scene of so many attacks. Financed by voluntary busy shipping channels frequented by unprotected vessels carrying rich cargoes in related ance industries, the RPC began offering an

around-the-clock help line, issuing daily re-ports of suspicious craft movements and assisting law enforcement agencies in the

As word of the RPC's existence spread, its mission began to pay off. Shipmasters who saw suspicious activity called the center's hot line and were ndvised to increase speed imnediately and to waggle their sterns to in crease the difficulty of a boarding attempt. aptains were instructed to turn on all deck ights, train search lights on the attackers' poats, assemble their crews on deck and get the fire hoses ready to fight them off. If the attackers succeeded in boarding, however, the crews were told to cease further resistance. The tactics worked: A significant number of attacks were prevented.

Some shipmasters devised tactics of their own. One skipper, vexed by intruders climbing up his ship's anchor to gain access through the hawse pipe, thwarted that ap-proach by wrapping a portion of the chain in a net covered with fish hooks.

In the fall of 1995, an incident occurred that provided a convincing demonstration of the PC's raison d'etre. In September 1995, the Anna Sterra, a Cyprus-registered general cargo vessel, left Bangkok for Manila, carrying 12 tons of sugar valued at \$5 million. The night after departure, 25 to 30 masked pirates. many armed with machine guns, appeared in two speedboats and stormed aboard. They rounded up the captain and 24 crewnien at gunpoint and handcuffed them together.

Two nights later, in rough weather, the pirates threw their prisoners overboard next o makeshift rafts with no water, food or provi sions. The following day, by the merest chance, the survivors were rescued by two Vietnamese fishing boats 60 miles off the coast of Vietnam. A report of the hijacking soon reached the RPC.

The center's manager, John Martin, contacted every port from India to Japan, advised them of the ship's hijacking and offered a \$50,000 reward. His alert included one identifying characteristic about the ship that later proved crucial: the Anna Sierra's original name, Diagara, had been welded onto the ship's bow and stern in raised steel letters and later painted over after a legitimate change of ownership.

After the pirates jettisoned the Anna Sierra's crew, they repainted the ship, renamed it the Artic Sea (the misspelling was theirs) and sailed it to the Chinese port of Beihai, 350 miles west of Hong Kong. Just after the ship arrived, an alert employee of a shipping company there spotted the raised letters and within hours the International Maritime Bureau's office in London was notified.

in Beihai ordered the ship to come into port. On arrival, they put armed guards on board, seized passports and confined the suspected pirates to the ship until an investigation was

For the IMB and its fledgling Piracy Centre, the apprehension was a spectacular success. But later events demonstrated the pitfalls to prosecution and recovery in some countries. When Martin succeeded in showing the authorities that the Artic Sea's papers were clumsy frauds, a local company in Beihai stepped forward with a second set of papers. Martin quickly countered with documents showing that those papers, too, were forged.

But that still didn't end the matter, Martin said. "What happened next was another company came out of the woodwork, saying 'Ah, yes, that first company was run by gangsters. We are the real company.' We then disproved the second company's documents, but no sooner did we do so than a third company stepped forward. And each time the documents got better," he said.

Today, more than 18 months after the incient, the Anna Sierra lies mired in the mud. The 14 pirates were released and sent home vithout any charges being filed.

While Southeast Asia has by far the highest neident rate of piracy, the Americas surpris

To curb piracy, officials say the world community must first understand how serious a problem it has become

ingly have the second worst record, Last year's total was 30 attacks, 16 of which happened in Brazilian waters. Of the latter, most of them happened to vessels at anchor or in port. On several occasions, police were called during the attacks but either failed to respond or showed up a day later.

"Brazil remains a highly dangerous area and this will continue to be so as long as the authorities fail to acknowledge the situation." Martin wrote in the RPC's annual report.

To curb piracy, authorities say the interna tional community must first understand how serious a problem it has become. Martin, whose tenure at the RPC's helm has made him the premier authority on piracy, said: "Better policing is the key."

Martin's message is getting through to the industry. More and more indemnity clubs (self-insurance pools to which most responsible shippers subscribe as an insurance of last resort) are helping to provide operating support for RPC's effort. In the meantime, he says, hard intelligence about any instance of piracy is the best weapon in the fight to make safer the dangerous waters of the modern

A Fond Farewell to Empire dard of living higher than that of the mother country. This from what Lord Palmerston termed a

COMMENT

Charles Krauthammer

A T MIDNIGHT on June 30, Bermuda became the crown jewel of the British Empire. Britsnnis once commanded tea from Ceylon, tobacco from Virginia and rubber from a. It now sports shorts

This has been a bad century for empire. The end of both (century and empire) was neatly marked by the return of Hong Kong to China. Which produced this even more melancholy fact: Britain, which gave the world Australia and New Zealand, now has exactly one Pacific possession, Pitcairn Island, population 54. And the only reason the Union Jack still flics over Pitcairn — its inhabitants descended mostly from Fletcher Christian and his fellow Bounty mutineers, a nice touch - is that

there is no one to give it back to.
Why melancholy? As someone who started his Montreal school days singing "God Save the Queen," I experienced first-hand how benevolent life in the British Commonwealth (as the empire was known in its dying

ness at British rule. Certainly, the Hong Kongers do. Hence the widespread trepidation that greeted the handover to Chinese rule.

days) could be. Yet even those

whose colonial experience was

Hong Kong is a fitting place for the British Empire to go out of business. (Except for Gibraltar, te remaining holdings are a few scattered islands. The Hong Kong handover put on dazzling display what Britain, given the chance and the time, hath wrought: individual rights, a moderate degree of self-government, and aston-

barren rock" when, 155 years ago, he stole it fair and square for the Crown.

So dazzling is Hong Kong that the major immediate problem facing China is restraining the hordes of those living in the glo-rious Peoples' Republic from storming the gates to get into the new "Special Administrative The handover of Hong Kong

has highlighted and legitimized newly sympathetic view of colonialism, and particularly British lism — a view sustained by Lawrence James in his prodigious The Rise And Fall Of The British Empire," in which he concludes that "Britain's empire was a moral force and one for

On the whole, yes. Even Ho Chi Minh offered a backhanded compliment to the benignancy and tolerance of British rule, when ishing prosperity, indeed, a stan- he noted, in 1922, that Gandhi

The state of the s

would have long since entered heaven had he been born in one of the French colonies." But the British Empire was

not just benign relative to its contemporaries. It ranks among the most beneficent in history. Consider that the most blessed places on the planet — as judged accurately by the countries that refugees and immigrants most clamor to get into — are Canada, Australia and the United States, Britons and built in the political and cultural image of the mother

This is not to deny that this empire was built with a sense of insufferable national (and racial) superiority and with occasional cruelty and much brute force. But it is hard to think of an empire that wasn't. It is equally hard to think of one that left behind so much. And one legacy above all: the idea of liberty, from which flowed the blessings of limited government, individ-ual rights, protection against ar-

bitrary power, and, as an adde bonus, the prosperity that attends freedom.

Of course, for most of its life the British Empire had a fairly narrow view of who qualified in liberty. The story of the last co tury and a half in Britain (and much of the West) is the story the methodical expansion of the circle of freedom, outward from white males to include other races and women. That expansion — the

es. He even brought in 102 nation and vindication of the idea of liberty - finds expres sion today in the political life has been a huge novelty hit. Because of South Korea's severely West. But, until July 1, it foul expression also in Hong Kong estrictive laws on dealing with the orth, Kim cannot telephone anyone Hong Kong is now given up and consigned to an uncertain fate. Which is why so much of import goods directly across the borthe world noted with ambivawar for four decades, have massive

lence and apprehension file rmies and state-of-the-art missiles andover of Hong Kong froi acing each other. Britain to the masters of But, despite military threats and Tiananmen. Which, in tirn onstant swings in political climate hat make his business exasperating, why, as we say farewell Hong Kong and all that, we might a glass to the late great Emph Cim said he's investing in a poten.

South Koreans See North's Economic Potential tially lucrative future. He is selling a capital is North Korea's best hope for laims to produce 600,000 jackets, million cans of an herbal-medicine economic resuscitation. No other had 300,000 bags and 3 million chiefe soft drink made from a powder ex-WHEN MOST people look at North Korea, they see hunger and economic collapse. When South

trees. It sells for just over \$1 a can. "This is about building ties," he sald. "We need to improve our know-how in dealing with North Korea. The potential for future busi- is the natural order of things. ness is great."

sula one day, and businessmen like tons of North Korean dirt, which Kim have started getting ready. So has the government of South Korea, cautiously. Realizing the tremendotts costs involved in drawing together the impoverished North and there, fly or drive there directly, or the wealthy South, the Seoul gov der. The two Koreas, technically at private businesses to establish ties

with the North. Businessmen are performing the role of catalyst between the two! Koreas," sald Köh'll Dong, research fellow at the Korea Development In-stitute, a Seoul think tank: North Korea. The Daewoo textile plant in Nampo, run with a North

economic resuscitation. No other hation has the emotional, cultural or tracted from North Korean pine economic incentives to rescue North Korea from economic disaster. While most South Koreans hate the North Korean leadership, many still believe a reunited Korean Peninsula

> year, and this year's figures are on track to exceed \$200 million. South Korean exports to the North have climbed from \$69,000 in 1989 to \$61. million last year." These figures are: Seoul's official tallies; many believe the actual amount is much higher be cause of small dealers like Kim working quietly through third countries.
> In 1995, the massive Daewoo con-

glomerate was the first South Korean company to win government permission to havest directly in plant in Nampo, run with a North Most analysts agree South Korean | Korean partner, is operating and oped.

300,000 bags and 3 million shirts

Last month a second South Korean firm, Taechang, was granted permission to bottle spring water from Kumkangsan, a famous North Korean mountain. The company plans to do something unthinkable Exports from North Korea to even a few months ago - ship the Virtually everyone in the South is betting on a unified Korean Penin South Korea have jumped from \$18 spring water directly from Wonsan in North Korea to Pusan in South Korea. Most goods are still shipped through a third country, usually

A dozen more firms, including Samsung Electronics, are in the final stages of gaining government approval for joint venture projects in elecommunications, plinrmaceuticals and consumer electronics. Some ambitious investors have drawn up plans for skl resorts and other vacation getaways in the North, where some of the peninsula's most speciacular natural beauty remains virtually undevel-

Richard Samuelson, senior analyst at SBC Warburg in Seoul, said "sentimental dynamics" are driving much of the inter-Korean trade. Ten million South Koreans, almost onefourth of the population, have direct family ties to North Korea. When Kim announced he would give away the dirt in two-pound jars,

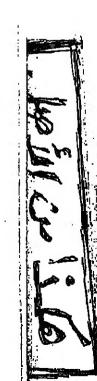
saying it was an investment in the good image of his company and unseemly to sell soil, 6,000 South Koreans wrote asking for a jar. Per-capita annual income in the

about \$10,000 in the South, and Kim said the low wages in the North gave him big savings in the laborintensive work. "It's impossible to find a better fit:

The North has cheap labor and natural resources, the South has capital and technology," said a U.S. official

The joke here is that one of South Korea's massive industrial conglomerates could buy all of North Korea. North Korea's gross domestic product is estimated at about \$21 billion: Daewoo has annual sales of more than \$22.5 billion.





GUARDIAN WEEKLY

snowy moorland, turns on the cen-

tral heating and prepares for a hard

day's work. She has a difficult as-

signment to complete - 2,000

words on post-Impressionist art.

But before she gets stuck in she scrolls through her e-mail to find

three messages from fellow stu-

dents (none of whom she has actu-

ally met) who are also struggling

with the assignment. "Does anyone know what 'pointillism' is?" writes

one. A message from Suzie's tutor

announces a video-conferencing

ession at 2pm, which will help.

Meanwhile she surfs the Internet to

have a look at some of the paintings

in the Louvre. Finally, at 5pm she

completes the assignment, sends it by e-mall to her tutor 800km away at

the University of Cybershire and

Is this a vision of the future? No.

students are already learning like

this. Sitting at a workstation surfing

through the world's libraries and

"meeting" new fellow students on-

screen sounds an exciting way to

learn, but the reasons why many

colleges and universities are going

down the distance learning route is

more pragmatic. It is all about "how

to deliver more for less" — how to

save money, but still deliver high-

The other illusion to burst is that

quality teaching and learning.

switches off.

T. H. Watkins

BILLIONS AND BILLIONS Thoughts on Life and Death at The Brink of the Millennium By Carl Sagan Random House, 241pp. \$24

ARL SAGAN was an optimist to the end, hoping that science, to which he had devoted his life, would be able to give him life for a few more years. He hoped as well that the nations of the world would somehow transcend human cussedness and the iron weight of history to build a future in which they would not blow one another off the face of the earth — or so corrupt the planet that there would be no real reason to hang around. He was wrong in the first them was a novel called Contact, hope, dying of a vagrant strain of pneumonia after two years of ex- and his regular articles in Parade haustive and exhausting therapy for a rare blood disease called myelodysplasia. It remains to be

his personal best to make it come

the greatest popularizer of science in modern times. He was neither as skilled a writer as, say, Lewis Thomas or E.O. Wilson nor as deep a thinker as Stephen Jay Gould or Freeman Dyson. But if you stopped someone on the street and asked that person to name a living scientist, Sagan almost certainly would have been the name that came to mind. His famously successful "Cosmos" television series, his frequent appearances on the "Tonight" show, his 10 previous books, all written for the general reader (indeed, one of just made into a motion picture), and other general-interest magazines spread him across the cultural landscape. He was not just a scientist; he was a Personality. seen whether the second hope was

better founded than the first — This tended to earn Sagan dis-though it must be said that he did dain among some of his fellow sci-Arguably, this astronomer and in-

gainsaid was his consistent defense of scientific inquiry, his relentless campaign to increase the funding tellectual planetary explorer was for NASA research programs, and, above all, his crusades to end the possibility of nuclear war and stave off environmental collapse. More than just about any other celebrity l can think of, Sagan used the spot-light of his fame to illuminate the abysa into which stupidity, greed, and the lust for power may yet All of those interests and causes are handsomely represented in Bil-

lions And Billions (Sagan says he never used the phrase; Johnny Carson did, as part of a "rough imitation" of him). Some of the material is original, some of it was previously published in Parade, and one chapter consists of a speech he gave at the 125th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1988. As in most collections, there is a

entists. But what could not be

matter from the mechanics of light waves ("The Gaze of God and the Dripping Faucet") to the often paradoxical dicta of human social behavior ("The Rules of the Game"). Still, what ties the book together is a devotion to life so fierce that he found it almost impossible not to dream of ting that there are a lot of is its existence beyond this lonely cin-

der called earth. In the first part of the book he exolores what we know (little) and what we can guess (a lot) of the possibilities of extraterrestrial life, a whole-souled enthusiasm of his with which most of the civilized world became familiar whether it wanted to or not. Life may be out there in another form on another planet, another moon, he says here again; let's go find out.

But while doing so, let's not ignore what we are doing to life here on earth, a warning that dominates the long middle section of the book. The depletion of the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect, deforestation, species extinction, the disposal of radioactive materials. He is equally convincing when talking ways.

certain eclectic character to Billions | about the terrifying implications of world gone politically chaotic even while much of it retains the post to destroy everything in a massic nuclear frenzy.
Is life on this planet then doome

even as we dream (some of us. m. way) of finding it elsewhere? Mad not, he speculates, though admit involved. If developed nations verely reduce their production of chlorofluorocarbons and their de pendence upon fossil fuels; if devioping nations stop cutting dom forests; if, as he said at Gettysburg. nations learn to "reconcile, not ster the carnage and the mass minds. but instead of the carnage and mass murder": Should these and otheris be met, he says, life may survive but it is going to take more pure! fort than any other endeavor in human history.

Sagan was not a pessimist, but he was not a fool, either. He knewler stubbornly we human beings da to the convictions and traditors that can kill us. Still, he chose at last testament a declaration of low that we still have time to mend or

Peter D. Kramer

Madness and Survival --- A Memoir Marrow. 305pp. \$24

TERE are two curly-haired L brothers, as alike as peas in a pod. Their physical gestures are similar, as are their tastes in art, music and people. Both have gifts for prose, both delight in nonsense and wordplay. They have the same friends, attend the same summer camp. In high school they share a 9by-12-foot room in the family apartment in Brooklyn. And then their lives diverge. Jay Neugeboren finds a career that will make him as knowable to others as a person ever is, through seven novels, numerous short stories, a memoir (Parentheses) written in his carly thirties, and now an account of his relationship with his younger brother. Robert becomes all but unknowable, shut off from the world since

career of chronic mental illness. Jay endures the pain of Robert's deterioration by imagining a second Robert, "the brother I grew up with," who has vanished. But the life of the first and living Robert is so hard to comprehend that he, too, must be imagined. Jay can recall every detail of their childhood; when he does, he wonders about "what I can never know: what it is memories? Imagining Robert is a series of sallies at this writerly goal:
Jay reconstructs moments of family life, reviews encounters with the Jay reconstructs moments of family life, reviews encounters with the medical system, and excerpts diaries and letters, all in hopes of

Growing up in Brooklyn in the 1940s and '50s, Robert was the favorite and Jay the scapegoat of a mercurial, sometimes deranged mother. Energetic, scheming, intrusive, Anne Neugeboren has much in common with a Bruce Jay Freedman mother, except that the genre here is more horror than comedy. "What a love affair I'm having with this one!" she says of young Robert. Of Jay: "Who could ever love that one?" She would be the model of the schizophrenogenic mother if that theory were still current. And yet an imagined other?

the childhood Jay remembers as tains moments of warmth zi

Jay escapes to college and its writer's life. Robert succumbs to b demons - he makes a more strangle the boys' devoted and it feetual father — and leaves home! the horrific world of mental her care. Over three decades, the G noses change; schizophrena nas depression. So do the treatmer psychotherapy, antipsychotic due anticonvulsants. Jay is at his 🖼 disturbing when describing is evangelical atmosphere of the sulin-coma ward at Creedmoor Sti Hospital, a facility where Robin lived for many years. The fake of mism, impersonality and menti the unit are emblematic of the Robert receives throughout hate Because what does not change

the inadequacy of caregivers h cians, social workers, psychologi - cach promises to cure like none delivers. ("Throw away Is Signund Freud, Mrs. Neugebox exclaims one peddler of the mins.) Much smaller promisis broken: to continue to trest de? respectus from UK representally ffices EES Offices (QUW), P.O. Box 400, Peterborough PE2 600 U.K. Tole/Fazz 444 (0) 1733 239023 tlent, or to return phone calk! one remembers Robert's history doctor will tout a new drug Robert unaware that he has be

taking this same drug for months.

Remarkably, this indicated the mental health system is ded in a narrative that is pleasurable to read. The visit is Jay Neugeboren's constant The result is not a prox

The result is not a proxy graphy of Robert; Jay cannot be trate the experience of illness. Rather, as details brothers' interactions according what emerges is a meditor identity and episteme tonomous are we, and he versibly connected? How a an unloved child matures favored sibling been blighted double? How do come to know a person about — beyond the coos duction and revision of sim

distance learning is now fully automated, with students working via Open University and the National their home computers. In reality, Extension College.

tion of organisations such as the

sive culture change. Materials on

their own do not solve the prob-

lems; what is important is what you

do with them," he says. "There are

also fundamental issues about how

to manage resources. A 'whole or-

ganisation' approach is needed.

Most universities have a Tortak-

abin' culture with no overall policy

on teaching and learning, which is

Until recently, nearly all the innovative work in distance learning has been at the margins, with the excep-

stance, is investing \$980 million over five years developing new approaches to teaching and learning through its new Knowledge Media Institute, set up in 1995. New materials are being created to replace paper and talk. Students of art his tory, for instance, can view a painting on their PC screens and change its composition. Researchers have also come up with being more expensive and less a virtual microscope — superfi-

Cost-cutting and changes in attitudes have brought an explosion in new teaching technologies, writes Anne Nicholls

effective than other methods, says | cially a CD-ROM containing thou-David Hardy, chief executive of the Open Learning Foundation (for samples at different angles and de tional (offering opportunities for Open Poly-technic). "It Sitting at a workstation surfing through the

requires time world's libraries and 'meeting' new fellow students ment setting on-screen sounds an exciting way to learn ing materials. It also requires a mas- | grees of magnification and polari- | eral, been under less pressure to de-

sation. There is a virtual summer school which links a small group of psychology students in different The Open College has launched a

new range of Internet and Intranet services to combat the feeling of solation suffered by distance learners. All very exciling, but the key

ssue is how colleges and universities are going to make distance learning work for them. Setting up the infrastructure and achieving culture change is not easy.

"It's a very complex area. Many lecturers are anti-distance learning because they see it as education on the cheap — more work for less re-ward," says Roger Lewis, BP Profes-Hong Kong last year, she was assor of Learning Development at the University of Lincolnshire and Humberside. "At the moment everyone is scrambling around doing the same things with fewer and fewer resources, or trying to introduce distance learning in a half-hearted piecemeal fashion."

Some innovative work in distance learning has been done among a number of further education colleges and some of the former polytechnics. In most cases the motivation has been a mixture of fi-

dents find themselves on an equal footing with other students with whom they can communicate over the e-mail and Internet." otherwise would not be able to partic-

sion College.

DISTANCE LEARNING 19

A "head-in-the-sand" attitude to distance learning by the universities and colleges may prove to be disastrous. It is well known that the FE The "older" sector is in financial trouble, and universities and colleges could save universities money by making their courses more resource-centred and less velop distance learning, although it teaching-intensive. It is really a was London university that started it question of adapt, or sink. all by setting up its external degree

Hong Kong last year, she was as-

tounded by the increase in distance

Student attitudes are also chang-

learning courses in just two years.

ing. "Distance learning used to be a

last resort for people who couldn't

attend college or university. Now students are opting for it as their

first choice because it offers flexibil-

ity and a guarantee of quality," says
Ros Morpeth of the National Exten-

Distance learning also has a spe-

cial attraction for students with

physical disabilities. 'These stu-

Open learning is an umbrella programme in 1858. (A number of term for any scheme of education or the older universities, notably Leicestraining that seeks systematically to ler, were originally London university remove barriers to learning. whether they be concerned with demand from students for more flexitime, place or space, Individual ble modes of learning is certainly learners take responsibility for what there. Stockport College has had a 54 they learn, how they learn, where per cent increase in students wanting they learn, how quickly they learn. flexible learning instead of traditional who helps them and when they courses. Other further education have their learning assessed. Dis-(FE) colleges report a similar pictance learning is one particular ture. The overseas market also are form of open learning in which pears to be booming. When Sue | totors and learners are separated by Gidman, London university's director | geographical distance.

Smitten by Love's Sting

Jonathan Yardley

THE UNIVERSAL DONOR By Craig Nova Houghton Mifflin, 250pp. \$23

TTS BEEN said here before, and Lunfortunately it needs to be said here again. Craig Nova is one of the best novelists now at work in the United States, and one of the least recognized or rewarded. He has now published eight novels, each excellent in its way and all distinguished by qualities too little valued in today's self-regarding literary culture: a deep interest in the lives of others and the moral condition of the larger society, a commitment to narrative and plot, and a lucid prose that eschews showiness. The Universal Donor maintains this high

It is a novel of suspense set in that genre's home ground, Los Angeles. Against the backdrop of a city brain." rocked by violence induced by racial grievances, with much of its action taking place in a hospital hard by the combat zone, it tells the story of a few moderately privileged people whose private lives undergo agonies of their own. Nova draws no parallels between these tribulations, declines to make the self-evident point that suffering is suffering no matter the condition of those upon whom it is visited. He simply tells his story straight up.

The protagonist is Terry Mc-Kechnie, in his mid-thirties, a specialist in internal medicine who "took cases from neighborhoods that were well-off and those that same process as most physicians, a kind of hardening that was necessary to go on being a doctor, but recently this toughness had become insufficient." He doesn't know where his life is taking him, and he is beset by a "constant, unrelieved longing for someone else" to love and be intimate with.

Then a new case arrives at the hospital: Virginia Lee, "a tall woman, close to 30, slender, with blond hair that was a metallic color." She | practices. The fourth is the unin- lously careful effort,



works at a laboratory extracting venom from snakes and has been bitten by one, an exotic variety. This poses hard choices for Terry: "The trouble was that a lot of exotic snakebites were idiosyncratic. Certainly he had heard of cases where everything seemed to be fine, and then the patient crashed: renal fail-

So a medical drama begins to unfold, but it is far more than that. Virginia is Terry's "someone else." She only recently married Rick Bartlett, a medical school classmate of Terry's who has opted for the nineto-five tranquility of dermatology, but soon after the wedding she and Terry begin a passionate affair that both know ought to be more than that. So Terry isn't merely trying to save a patient's life, isn't merely trying to save his lover's life; he is try-

There are four complicating elements. The first is the snakebite. spends two nights a week at a hospi- Terry "had been taught always to rather than attach themselves to it tal "south of Westwood," one that | shoot for the middle of the bell | as barnacles. This is a mark of real | curve in the treatment of patients. skill on Nova's part, for when a seribecause the most likely occurrence weren't." He has "gone through the | was in the middle of the realm of possibilities. But this case didn't fall in the middle." The second is that Yet the interrelationship of charac-Virginia has an extremely rare, almost exotic, blood type; not even Terry, a universal donor, can give her blood. The third is that Rick Bartlett suspects that something is going on between his wife and his friend; his expressions of concern. for her are compounded - and diminished — by nagging questions and challenges to Terry's medical

vited presence of a man known only as Number 2 (from his place in a police lineup), a small-time but violent criminal who at once threatens Terry's safety and offers him an It is a complicated plot, and a

complicated moral situation. Terry and Virginia are decent people, reared as such and determined to faithful to that upbringing. Rick contrast is snide, lazy and scifabsorbed. Yet in conventional terms Virginia and Terry are the wrongdoers while Rick occupies the high ground. By the same token Number 2 is clearly a thug and a menace, yet by a freak of nature he is in a position to serve as an agent, if not an angel, of mercy. Who is right and who is wrong? Exactly how far can Terry go, and in what directions, without forfelting his decency and thus his essential self?

HESE are thematic matters, but L they emerge from the narrative ous novelist gets his hands on serious thematic business, the temptation to belabor it is extreme. ters and story on the one hand, theme on the other, is most effective when least obvious. It is oldfashioned to say so, but it is true: Story is more important than anything else in fiction, i.e., in story-telling, and everything else should flow naturally from it. This Nova accomplishes in The Universal Donor with what looks like ease but is obvi-

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IMAGINING ROBERT: My Brother, By Jay Neugeboren

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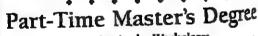
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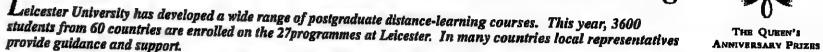
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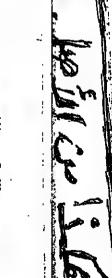
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GUARDIAN WEEKLY July 13 1997

Potential agony of Ecstasy

Clubbers' favourite drug may lead to depression, writes Petra Coveney

ARC is 18. He took his first Ecstasy tablet at a first Ecstasy manner in him to the drug, t friend introduced him to the drug, a blue "Speckled dove". It made him feel elated, surrounded by his mates who were all on it, as though cocooned in a cloud of friendship.

Three days later Marc felt lethargic and flat, but regular users of Ecstasy said don't worry, it's only the midweek blues. He'd feel fine by the weekend - especially after taking another E. He started to live for the weekends, for the high, the euphoric feeling that you were not alone and the grin that made his jaw ache. Soon Marc was taking two and then three Es, and before long six on a Saturday night, just to reach that same uplift.

It hit him about five months later. A deep depression. He had sudden panic attacks, felt paranoid and had occasional hallucinations. Having felt surrounded by friendship, he suddenly seemed alone. He worried that his friends didn't want to be with him any more because he'd drag their mood down. At rockboltom he was suicidal.

If Marc's was an isolated experience it could be dismissed as an aberration. But it isn't. Information is patchy and largely speculative to date, but a growing band of psychiatrists such as Sue Ruben, who treated Marc in Liverpool, are reporting that a rising number of

proportion of them fall mentally ill, that's still an alarming number.

tended to focus on dramatic cases of comas and death, such as the tragedy of Leah Betts. Yet more people die from swallowing aspirin or alcohol and the total of Ecstasy deaths (figures vary from eight to 20 a year) is almost insignificant compared with the 30,000 annual alcohol-related death toll.

But death is not the only way

be "sorted" by E. "There is clear evidence that Ecstasy can have neurotoxic which effect clinical causes depression in

some people," Sue Ruben says. "The chances of dying from E may be low, but the risk of severe side-effects more worrying. Last month a

psychology at University College, London, gave firm scientific evidence for a trend that had previously only been suggested anecdotally - that Ecstasy is linked with depression and diminished concentration. She set up a "laboratory" in a nightclub and tested clubbers' moods and behaviour. While drinkers quickly recovered from teenagers are suffering Eestasy- hangovers, Eestasy users slid into related mental health problems, It is | an irritable and anxious depression estimated that I million people aged | a few days after taking the drug.

between 17 and 35 take E each up by research by Michael Morgan, weekend in Britain. If only a tiny a psychologist at the University of Press coverage of Ecstasy has

prise to doctors that users feel a

Curran's study has been backed

Wales, who found that many Ec-

stasy users suffered memory loss

and displayed impulsive behaviour.

Taking Ecstasy, he says, is like hav-

ing "a chemical lobotomy". He esti-

mates that 10 per cent of people

aged 20-30 taking Ecstasy could be

Pure E consists of the stimulant

drug MDMA, so it comes as no sur-

affected.

study by Valerie Curran, reader in | off. What is alarming psychiatrists | is that MDMA appears to be having an adverse effect on serotonin, the chemical in the brain thought to play an important part in controlling motional stability and coherent hinking. Eestasy acts by overstimulating the release of serotonin, so leading to a depletion of the chemi-

cal's reserves. Low serotonin levels are associated with suicidal and impulsive behaviour, Morgan explains, "It you add to this the evidence of memory

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plus young people who have more severe mood swings and are more prone to suicide, with premature dementia symptoms similar to Alzheimer's disease. We could get 17-year-olds exhibiting aspects of geriatric brain function.

"Single-handedly it could have severe consequences for our economy and for the country because of the cost to the health service of looking after these people, the waste of education and their potential loss to the workforce," he says.

This bleak view of the future is not shared by Valerie Curran, who believes that only certain suscepticome-down when its effects wear | ble individuals will suffer the severe

side-effects of Ecstasy. "Some people are more vulnerable to the effects of drugs others. There could be a host of different biological, social and psychological factors causing this."

murky world of illicit drugs, with PHOTOMORTAGE: JIM POWELL research in its infancy, nobody

knows for sure what will be the impact on regular users nor upon how many. Curran's was the first "controlled" or scientific study, but even then, she says, it was impossible to know the exact ingredients of the drug the clubbers she tested were taking. And she adds that there is no proof that Eestasy "causes" depression and memory loss; the only certainty is that there is a link.

David, a 29-year-old university lecturer who has taken 40 Ecstasy tablets in the past two years, has

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loss, then we could get a million- | suffered severe depression. He de uncontrollable waves of intense emotion sweep over him.

"I've been in important meetings when it suddenly hits me and I just want to rush out and break down and cry," he says. "There are this and flows within it which you feel will breach your emotional defences. You're helpless." But even such black moments as

these have not persuaded David to quit Ecstasy. He has seen others suffer similar depressions and recover, he says, so he's sceptial shout the link between the drug and depression and won't give it up until nore is known.

Alan Haughton believes that if we are to protect people like David from potential harm we have a moral duty to find out more about the long-term psychological effects of Ecstasy. But he doubts that re search will be funded. "In the scale of funding, Ecstay

comes very low in the drugs hisarchy compared with drugs like heroin," he predicts. "Those in an thority will say, Who cares wheller The truth is this vast group of young people my that in this well suffer problems of depressing in the future when other your people are dying from drug-related incidents today'.

But what about people like Mare who may be in need of help? Hissai cidal feelings grew until he was diven to seek psychiatric help at b Liverpool Drug Dependency Chir where he was put on medication to mally prescribed for schizophrene He is recovering, but is finding: hard to regain self-confidence.

Meanwhile hundreds of the sands of people continue to pille? every weekend. Their enjoymenti intense and instant. But what is it pay-back? To know its full extents may have to wait another decade.

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RESERVAL

Tim Luffman, a customs officer, with a dwarf crocodile and a baboon's skull

Souvenirs that can ruin a good holiday

TOURIST souvenirs made from endangered species form the lion's share of customs scizures at London alrports, Customs and Excise officers said

last week as they warned holidaymakers to be careful when buying gifts, writes Alex Bellos. housands of souvenirs such

as ivory chess pieces, jewellery made form coral, and crocodile skin handbags, are confiscated at airports every year from tourists

unaware they are breaking the law. Such objects account for 85-90 per cent of selzures by customs officers, vastly

overshadowing scizures of drugs. Robin Cooper, head of policy at Customs and Excise, said many souvenirs legally on sale ir foreign countries are covered by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) and banned from import

He said: "We don't enjoy seizing souvenirs from tourists. It ruins their holidays and takes up our time. But we have no choice."

More than 800 species are banned from international trade and 23,000 are strictly controlled under Cites. These include many corals, reptiles, orchids and cacti, as well as elephants, tigers, rhinos and

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHAT would be the constitu-tional consequences if the heir to the throne declared te/she was an atheist?

THE legalist would say that a non-Protestant caunot be monarch inder the 1688 Bill of Rights. The requirement that the monarch should be a Protestant was to prevent him/her becoming a Catholic.

But becoming an atheist these days would not entail an abrogation f British freedoms and there could be a case for amending the Bill of hights by an Act of Parliament to allow an atheist monarch. — Patrick White, London

A S AN atheist, the new monarch could not take the oath, created by the Coronation Oaths Act 1688, y which he/she promises to maintain "the Protestant reformed religion established by law". And the Accession Declaration Act 1910 requires the new monarch to swear efore Parliament that he/she is a 'faithful Protestant" and will maintain "the enactments which secure the Protestant succession to the Throne". Parliament could try to re- the US only after the second. peal these acts before the atheist cu succeeded, but the existing monarch would have sworn the oath and declaration and so could not assent to their repeal. These are the only two acts in British law de-

signed to prevent their own repeal. One way round this conundrum to have the repeal bill ready for he monarch's death. In common aw, the monarchy is never vacant. The lawful helr inherits all the monarch's powers immediately on his/her death, before being crowned or making the Accession Declaration. So the atheist heir Declaration. So the athelst heir ALASKA was a Russian colony The Notes & Queries webs could immediately assent to the re-

peal bill and lawfully become an atheist monarch. - Laurie Smith. Carshalton, Surrey

WHY do some aircraft leave jet trails and others do not?

JET trails are also known as "vapour trails" and (more usefully) as "condensation trails". Air flows more quickly over the top of an aircraft's wing - otherwise it wouldn't fly - and in doing so it cools down and thins out, and can therefore hold less moisture. The moisture condenses into water droplets and what you see is like a long, thin cloud, which disappears as the air warms again to the tem-

perature of the surrounding air. So it all depends on the amount of moisture in the air, and the speed of the aircraft. With moist air and fast aircraft, we get trails. With dry air and/or slow aircraft, no trails. -Ian Lewis, Farnham, Surrey

A LASKA and Hawaii became the 49th and 50th states of world war. What was their sover-

MMEDIATELY before Hawaii achieved statehood in 1959, it was a Territory of the US. But it had been a sovereign constitutional monarchy until 1893, when the last Queen, Lili'uokalani, was deposed by US sugar planters and missionar les, with the support of the US marines. A few years after her overthrow, the islands were annexed. -Alex Fenton, Honolulu, Hawaii . . .

in 1867 for \$7,200,000. It was made a state in 1959. - Kyra Ings. Wickfield, Wiltshire

WHY does the wedding ring go on the third finger of the

REWER'S Dictionary of Phrase & Fable states: "Aulus Gellius tells us that Appianus asserts in his Egyptian books that a very delicate nerve runs from the fourth finger of the left hand to the heart, on which account this finger is used for the marriage ring." For Catholics, the thumb and first two fingers represent the Trinity, and the next finger "is the husband's, to whom the woman owes allegiance next to God. The left hand is chosen to show that the woman is to be subject to the man." - Bob Harper, Gateshead

Any answers?

WHAT is the origin of the phrase "doesn't cut the mustard"? — Andrew Wong, London

/ /HAT was Pelmanism? And What became of the Pelman Institute? — Frank Toner, Glasgow

ONSIDERING the hundreds of thousands of mines planted during the two world ... wars, can we assume that all of these are no longer dangerous?
—Alfred Christiansen, Salt Lake City, Utah, USA

Answers should be e-mailed to eekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/+44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. The Notes & Queries website is at

Letter from Bamako Robert Lacville

Double trouble

HAT man has not been tween co-wives destroy their chiltempted by the delicious dren's lives. Indeed I discovered prospect of polygamy? Having two wives. Or even three or four . . . Every 35-year-old man with 10 years of monogamy behind him thinks occasionally of an attractive second bed; and the percentages increase for fading 45-year-olds with adolescent children and a receding

I'm not talking about the "serial polygamy" practised in the West, where one in three marriages leads to divorce and remarriage. (I've heard politicians call it "serial monogamy", but they are just dressing it up in language acceptable to Christians.) No. I am talking about serious double-marriage, where the husband can strut around one compound on Monday and Tuesday, and then move down the road on Wednesday and Thursday, knowing that he'll be spoilt like mad because they haven't seen him for two days. More importantly, each wife will be as nice as possible in order to up stage the other.

Naturally I am giving you an urban vision of polygany, where many wives demand separate lodgings. In the village, each wite has her own but in the family compound. And so does the husband, who returns exhausted from the

It was Banussi, a woman from I Botswana, who first taught me that polygamy is a cause of social stress | bour Samake, who died two years and underdevelopment. Happily married to a Gambian friend of mine, she now lives in the Manding lands with two lovely children.

She told me of her shock in discovering the prevalence of polygamy in West Africa. "It is bad for economic prosperity as well as for family life," she said. When a visiting Ghanaian woman strongly supported Banussi's southern African perspective, I decided it was time to

The African Princess, firm in her views on most things, announced that there were no conditions in the world which would make her share a husband. She backed up her personal preference with case studies of family strife and unhappiness caused by jealousies between co-wives. This seemed a bit strange, since her own sister (same mother, same father) had just celebrated her marriage as a second wife, But both sisters agreed that jealousies bedren's lives. Indeed I discovered that the Bambara word for "jealousy and rivalry" is fadenya which means "children of the same father".

The sisters explained that you cannot trust the children of your father. In West Africa it is the mother who is powerful. Children obey their mother. A co-wife will always seek to diminish the favours and chances of other children, in order to promote her own. You may help your half-siblings, but you don't trust them.

This is one reason for the failure of West African private enterprise to develop and expand; an enterprise dies with its founder. You may see a sign Barry Brothers above a shop, but it is rare indeed to see Barry and Sons, unless Mr Barry has only one wife. But that is unlikely if he is a successful businessman; after a wife and a house and a Pengeot car, the next prestige symbol for the urban affluent is a second wife.

ONOGAMY on the other hand promotes the virtues of "loyally and trust" inhand promotes the virtues herent in the word battma, meaning children of the same mother, but Never has the importance of bulgua hit me as it did last week when I found two small boys sleeping on fields or the market and lounges | the step of my garage door Why, I around the compound, waiting for 1 wondered to myself, were the six the duty-wife to bring him water for | and eight-year-old kids sleeping on washing and oil for a relaxing time step, when their own house a most two doors along

> It turns out that lengths, the third wife of my late and famented neighago, has remarried. These things can be very quick; it happened last week while I was up in Timbuktu. Jeneba is only about 30 years old. and she cannot live the rest of her life as a widowed second wife tthe eldest wife died). She had a good offer, and she took it and the baby girl with her. The boys belong to their father's family, so they were left in their father's house.

Young Samake the welder, a nice man around 25 years old, is doing his best to be a good elder brother but admits that the boys are missing their mother. His own mother is not a naturally warm person and she has seven children of her own. Fadenya is such a strong force that Jeneba's boys will always get second best. Within a week of their mother's remarriage, they seem to reckon there is more love and favour to be received down the

A Country Diary

Brenda Owen

UNKELD, Australia: We belong to a golf club which must two rainbow bee eaters who time be one of the most beautiful in the world, lying as it does among the low mountains of the Serra Range in try, displaying their colours to per-Western Victoria.

There are times when the scores are high and the tempers are short but invariably nature comes up with a distraction. The wallabies will watch even the rotten shots without booing, and the cackle of the kookaburra does not impute praise or blame. At various times we have seen mating entus (a noisy procedure) and boxing kangaroos and been followed closely by willie | for orange golf balls.

wagtails catching the insects that our feet have disturbed. One highand again swooped to the ground fection and, at the same time. scaring off a snake which was too close to their burrow.

Recently we lost two balls on the 9th which we had thought would be easily found. Infuriated we drove the 10th and as my ball came to rest a raven flew down from the trees, picked it up in its beak and made off for the eucalyptus beyond the fairway. Looks like we'll be shopping

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Diran Adebayo

ARLEM. Harlem when it siz-

words of writer Greg Tate,

"the living knew they wanted to go

to Harlem just as surely as the dead

knew they wanted to go to Heaven!"

zled. Harlem when, in the

Voice of America

OBITUARY

James Stewart

HERE was the unmistakable rangy figure and the forthright eyes, but you hear first in your head the immediately recognisable, most impersonated voice in the history of Hollywood — the lauguid yet adenoidal drawl.

It was a woodwind instrument able to express a wider range of emotions than most film stars: there was his euphonious high tenor singing of Cole Porter's "Easy to Love" in Born To Dance; the excitement as he feels a scream coming on in You Can't Take It With You: and the celebrated climactic filibuster from Mr Smith Goes To Washington, when the voice becomes raw and husky without ever losing passion or conviction.

More emblematically, James Stewart, who has died aged 89, was the voice of a certain kind of America. He was able, better than any other American screen actor, to express what was decent, honest and unpretentious about the US of A. "He grabbed you as a human being," Frank Capra remarked. "You were looking at the man, not an actor. You could see this man's soul."

This quality was used in different ways by the three most important directors in his career - Capra, Alfred Hitchcock and Anthony Mann. For Capra, he represented simplicity and rugged worth, while Hitch-cock used his "familiarity". "It made him the perfect Hitchcock hero, because he is Everyman in bizarre situations." Yet Anthony Mann, in his westerns, discovered a grittier, more uncompromising and bitter Stewart than the charmer of the pre-

second world war pictures. There is some truth to the legend that James Stewart was a hick, born and brought up in a small town, where his father owned a hardware store. Except that Stewart's grandfather had built the store in Indiana, Pennsylvania into a thriving business, so that he could afford to send his son to Princeton. That son in turn sent his son, Jimmy, there.

gree in architecture. Theatre led to small film parts, but it was his prewar collaboration with Capra that brought out his unique qualities. Capra cast him as the banker's son n love with a woman (Jean Arthur) from an eccentric bohemian family in You Can't Take It With You. Then came Mr Smith Gues To Washington (1939), one of the most memorable performances of his career.

You fight for the lost causes harder than for any others; yes, you even die for them," is the apogee of lefferson Smith's 23-hour filibuster. The idealistic senator set Stewart's image firmly in the public's mind, and after the film, the star vowed: "A James Stewart picture must have two vital ingredients. It will be clean and it will involve the triumph of the underdog over the bully."

It was strangely ironic, many years later, to see Mr Stewart, a lifelong Republican, go to Washington to support Richard Nixon.

In 1940, nobody was more astonished than Stewart when he won the Academy Award - for his performance in The Philadelphia Story. There is no doubt that as Jefferson Smith, he had a more demanding assignment than his role as the re porter sent to cover the marriage of socialite Katharine Hepburn.

As soon as America entered the second world war, Stewart joined the Army Air Corps as a private, returning four years later a lieutenant colonel. He had flown 20 missions over Germany as a bomber pilot, winning the Air Medal and Distinguished Flying Cross.

Once more in civvies, stirred by his war experiences, he was seriously considering quitting Hollywood when Capra called him to say he had an idea for a movie. It was It's A Wonderful Life (1947). As George Bailey, a man driven to suicide unaware that he had touched many lives for the better. Stewart demonstrated his range from hopeful youth to desperate middle-age.

His roughening up happened mostly in the five westerns Stewart made with Anthony Mann in the fifties, including Winchester '73 As an Ivy-Leaguer, Jimmy joined (1950) and The Man From Laramie once said: "I can honestly say that in the Triangle Club, Princeton's best (1955). But the hardness of the all the years we've been married,



pain behind the eyes, and the tenderness within.

He was a middle-class middle-American caught up in an espionage plot, in a picaresque pursuit (one of Hitchcock's favourite themes) in The Man Who Knew Too Much (1955). And then he was the immobilised voycur hero in Rear Window (1954), the audience's surrogate. watching murder helplessly. In Vertigo (1958), his righteous persona makes his acrophobic detective drawn into a world of fantasy and fetish compelling. It is also one of his rare demonstrations of sexual desire, with Kim Novak as the object of his attentions

Stewart's wife Gloria, the wealthy divorcee whom he married in 1949, mother of their twin daughters,

characters does not disguise the | Jimmy never once gave me cause for anxiety or jealousy." There was never a whiff of scandal; the marriage lasted 45 years until her death.

There was a contrast between his liberal, often pacifist, screen persona and his bawkish stance on the Victnam war, a view he shared with his friend John Wayne, with whom he appeared in John Ford's The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance (1962), and in The Shootist (1976).

Yet stars' real lives are far less real to audiences than those they live on screen, and Stewart's backing for the Vietnam war, Nixon and Reagan will be long forgotten while Jefferson Smith and George Bailey go on moving and entertaining us.

Ronald Bergan

Jernes Stewart; actor, born May 20, 1908; died July 2, 1907

ence beyond his years. He got a nomination as best supporting actor

From film noir, he graduated in for once as Rowlands's Fresh the attention, one of the as anyone who has seen A boy as much as he needshe born in Bridgeport, Connecticut his | brother in Wellman's Track Of The ating, stalking figure in Cape Fear; the cuckolded teacher in Chandlerian of all the Philip Mar-

> Mitchum was a very Hollywood creation, incapable of self-reflection Maybe he had an instinct that movies needed just a look, a presence and concealment for the magic

David Thomson

Robert Charles Duran Mitchum; actor, born August 6, 1917; died July 1 1997

Keeping it in the family

FILM OF THE WEEK **Derek Malcolm**

THE SONS of famous film makers have a hard rown hoe. None more so than Nek Cassavetes. His father, John Cassavetes (who died in 1989), was one of the most influential all post-war American director but almost impossible to emulate. Unbook The Stars. Nick's début, thankfully does nitempt to do so, even thought has Gena Rowlands, John's widow, in the leading role.

Where there are similaritie the comparison is not in Nicks favour. Rowlands plays a lone suburban widow, with an amb tious son gone from home unit troublesome teenage daughter about to leave. She has little to live for until a working-class mother (Marisa Tomel, a sing parent since her abusive hus band left) asks her to lookala her six-year-old son while the's earning a precarlous living.

The child gradually beginn relish his visits to Auntie like red but the inevitable happen — the mother decides to more and the two have to part. This is far more of a soap

acting, led by the incompara

Rowlands, which introduce

some reality into the plot.

Cassavetes has learnt from h

father not how to tell a story,

since the latter aubjugated

to a general feeling of hateuse

cast the scope to surpass

spontancity, but how to give b

Tomei gives one of her best

least mannered performant

the single mother, the boyls

played with nice reticence of Jake Lloyd, Moira Kelly is

excellent as the daughters

even Depardieu is constrain

Canadian would-be lover.

screen actors of her gent

would confirm.

beaven either.

Woman Under The Influence

She skilfully suggests

going too twitchy, she needs

elderly angel but determin

suggests a woman who has

have been a pain both to he

daughter and son and iso't

It's her presence that say

the film from its essentish banality — that and Cassa

carefully unsentiment

tion. Unlike his father,

for the middle ground.

But it is Rowlands who had

Twenties Europe had its Paris and opera than John Cassavetes ts Weimar, America its Harlem. would have allowed, and the Twentles Harlem dubbed itself subplots — the prosperous 500 he "world's greatest negro metrotrying to get his mother to get polis". Millions had fled to New York live with him and his wife, from the South in the early 1900s, mother's romantic dinger with and the part that blacks had played Gérard Depardieu's Canadia during the first world war had contruck driver — and the burger tributed to a new assertiveness ing understanding between the among them. But demands for jobs single parent and the austicaand justice were met with a murderall routine Hollywood stuff. ous white backlash. Thousands of But there is a perceptive screenplay from Cassavetesh (with Helen Caldwell) and negroes were lynched across the

country in the Red Summer of 1919. It was in the aftermath of that summer that the renaissance began. ommunity leaders believed that the arts were the only safe haven on offer and might, marketed in the right salons, elevate the negro in he eyes of fellow Americans. Curiously, there is no mention of

he historical background at the Lonon Hayward Gallery's show Rhapsodies In Black (until August 17), so hat some of the grim irony in, for eximple, Aaron Douglas's art deco ainting Aspiration is lost. And while e gain a sense of the international evour of the renaissance, with film clips of Josephine Baker in Paris, the Negro, with stories by young guns and to forge the kinds of allian flerce debates around the politics of Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston, that give a renaissance a name.

And all that jazz representation are only hinted at. In the words of Langston Hughes's quotation, which stands over the entrance to the exhibition, "If colored people are glad, we are pleased. If not, their displeasure doesn't matter. either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free

Manhattan nightlife during Harlem's heyday . . . Blues, 1929, by Archibald J Motley, Jr

within ourselves."

The coloured people that Hughes had in mind were the bourgeois followers of W E B du Bois, an intellectual who wanted high art, not studies of Harlem low-life or the "primitive" work that some artists offered. This discussion over "posi-tive/negative images", with the white gaze an omnipresent spectre. is an enduring issue for black Western artists. Who is your art for, the black and/or white consumer? Is the work for today, when racism and ignorance make it so easy for work to be seen in a peculiar light, or for a

better tomorrow? For the artists of the Harlem renaissance, such questions were especially vexed. Many artists relied on white patronage. They strove for a free vision denied most others, and yet they were as economically

impotent as less privileged blacks. Perhaps the most telling fact about the Harlem renaissance is that without the white establishment to name it so, it would not have been seen to have happened. The year 1925 saw the publication of Alain Locke's anthology The New

illustrations by Aaron Douglas, and an invitation extended to white worthies such as Eugene O'Neill to judge the literary awards for the black arts magazine Opportunity. The worthies came, they hung out with the talent, and the resulting publicity, combined with the jazz that was already conquering Amer-ica, set the Harlem ball rolling.

For me, the most moving aspect f the exhibits was thinking how difficult the lives of most of the subjects was. Many look noble and strong. Others have a sadness about them, a sense of troubled past and present, a blues aesthetic.

There are strands that link the enaissance with today. In Douglas's picture Defiance, we see the prototype of the modern mad and bad Rude Boy, as immortalised by Jimmy Cliff in the 1970s Jamaican film The Harder They Come. Van der Zee's photo of Harlem's Barefoot Prophet raises a smile too. Every black community seems to have one.

In the main, though, the impression is that myth was the reality of Harlem. All the strata of black life were there, and whites could come along to the party. There was also a tremendous intellectual strength: doctors and activists moved in the same streets as the low-life Plotters

in Motley Jnr's paintings.
The black Britain of the nineties might be the nearest thing to interwar Harlem. Second-generation Britons, many of whom grew up in similar inner-city areas, feel they have more in common than they have differences. But we still have to develop our Opportunity magazines, and to forge the kinds of alliances

Holy communion

HEATRE

Michael Billington

A FTER me, says the Anthony
Blunt-like hero of John
Banville's new novel, Poussin cannot be what he was before. Neil Bartlett might make a similar claim after the extraordinary, unclassifiable Seven Sacraments of Nicholas Poussin, which mixes art history, autobiography and meditation on matters of life and death.

The audience is ushered into a lecture theatre in the bowels of a Whitechapel hospital. Bartlett arrives in doctor's coat and proceeds to give us the historical background lo Poussin's seven great paintings which hang in the National Gallery of Scotland. We learn that they were painted between 1644 and 1648, that they were originally meant to be viewed in solitude by the guests of Poussin's patron, and that they de-piet both biblical incidents and the sacraments of confirmation and extreme unction:

What starts as a lecture, however, mickly turns into something else. Bartlett explores the themes and visual motifs of each individual painting. He strikes poses, relates the works to his own experience, picks out details from the pictures which are then either projected on to a screen or highlighted in chalk sketches on a blackboard by the artist Robin Whitmore.

What is Bartlett up to? Running through the evening is a highly noving vein of religious nostalgia; a sense that we may well be the last generation that will understand the Book of Common Prayer or the rituals depicted in the Poussin paintings. One byproduct of a secularist society is that a whole world of religious art may soon become incom-

But Bartlett goes beyond that to suggest that the ceremonies depicted by Poussin still have some echo in our own experience. He dwells on baptism, confirmation, marriage in highly personal terms.

Bartlett achieves several things in this unique show. He illuminates Poussin's work in a way that makes one want to re-examine the original paintings. He also dwells on mortality. The final image, as we file into another room, is of Bartlett silently grieving over an empty hospital bed But, best of all, he reminds us that anything is possible in theatre; not only that you can endlessly reinvent the form but that it is one of the

places where a group of tota strangers can foregather and be reminded, while being instructed and entertained, of their common humanity. Religious worship may be in decline, as Bartlett implies, but the act of theatre can become a form of holy communion.

Beckett's landmark play no longer excites great controversy. The days when critics argued over whether Walting for Godot was a masterpiece (Harold Hobson) or a remarkable piece of twaddle (Bernard Levin) have more or less gone. But, if it is now widely accepted as a classic, Peter Hall's haunting and beautiful Old Vic production in South London shows pre-

The essence of a classic is that it constantly renews itself; and Hall, returning to the play after 42 years, finds new facets in Godot. All the familiar qualities are still there: Beckett's compassion for his two eternally waiting tramps, and the yearning for something that would give meaning to the endless eyele of life and death.

But Hall's production also brings out something rarely emphasised: Beckett's anger at life's cruelty and injustice. You see it here in the way Vladimic and Estragon lament the loss of their "rights" as if their contract with Godot involves a fundamental human forfeit. Above all, you see it in the play's most famous, endlessly repeated exchange: "Let's go." "We can't." "Why not?" "We're waiting for Godot." This is delivered with mounting frustration ending each time with a growl of despair from Ben Kingsley's Estragon. What Hall brings out is not just the pathos of the tramps' plight but their rage at their entrapment and at the senselessness of their predicament; and, of course, by extension

Each production of Godot is also determined by the chemistry of the casting. Here a perfect balance is struck between Alan Howard's willowy, Irish-accented, residually idealistic Vladimir and Ben Kingsley's earthy, ironic, pragmatic Estragon. Beckett's point is that the characters are indissolubly interdependent.

If you have only 15 shillings left in the world, said Hobson, go and see Waiting For Godot: if you have 30 shillings, go twice. Allowing for inflation, the injunction still applies. For what you get is not a philosophical tract but a poem, full of sadness, sympathy and rage, about the unanswerable riddle of existence.

dependent on complex electron-

Dark star with a brooding screen presence

OBITUARY Robert Mitchum

ROBERT MITCHUM, who has died aged 79, gave not the least help to the notion that he was a great screen actor. He manifested a heartfelt and weary certainty that acting was a dumb trick which he had got away with for years. If we were moved, that was our problem.

There was only one topic with vhich vou could dent his cool mocking armour, and that was The Night Of The Hunter (1955), which he blamed entirely on the wonder, the genius, and, of course, the folly of its director Charles Laughton.

Mitchum's crazed preacher Harry Powell in Hunter wasn't even nominated for an award. The picture was a disaster. Laughton never directed again. If you tried to convince Mitchum that he had done something uncanny and marvellous, he rolled his eyes and offered you a drink. This was the manner sleepy-eyed yet dangerous, attentive but insolent, there yet uncommitted plots and problems was close to his dier in William Wellman's The Story



Robert Mitchum: a world-weary poozer with an instinct for acting

menon in the late 1940s and 1950s.

For 10 years, he was murderously beautiful, and so fixed in underplaying you could imagine you heard his blood freezing, clicking into place as ice. He played tough, smart loners

Mitchum encouraged his own bad reputation: as a kid he had done time on a chain gang; in Hollywood he was disrespectful to superiors and owners; and in 1948 he was arrested for possession of marijuana and spent 60 days in jail. Some people reckoned he was finished, but the public liked him all the more.

He seems like a wanderer from one of his own pictures: he was tier: the relentless but insecure child; he was a difficult kid, a drifter and a vagrant. Shirley MacLains (who was his lover for a time) said that the South marked Mitchum: made him world-weary, a languid drawler, boozer, and hopeless case.

It was 1940, when he had just married his wife Dorothy Spence; with whom he had two sons and a daughter, that turned to acting. He was trapped, he said: the money was too good, the work too easy, for him to try harder. He had small roles in several films but won attention in

Of GI Joe. Uncommonly still, he seemed possessed of a dark experi-- the only one of his career.

> the 1950s to lead roles in bigger pictures - River Of No Return, Not As A Stranger, The Sundowners, The Grass Is Greener. Although he worked too much and with too little care, there are the unexpected pictures he wandered into where he could be far sadder and much nas-Ryan's Daughter; and the most owes in Farewell My Lovely.

Technowarrior with a humanist touch

PERFORMANCE Tim Ashley

STHE centrepiece of this year's Meltdown festival at don's South Bank Centre, Laurie Anderson, star, perfornance artist and the festival's rdatic director, presented her ne-woman show, The Speed Of to make the truck driver in Darkness, a bitter, funny, probing meditation on the nature and future of technology. It's a piece riddled with ambiguities that perplex because Anderson, lingly and teasingly, makes no no concern with popularly became a lauded here on his death, Cassaveres Ir an

attempt to resolve them. On one level, it represents a drastic simplification of her more recent work. The paraphernalia of her large-scale

multimedia shows is conspicuous by its absence. Gamine and androgynous, she stands alone in pools of coloured light with only a synthesiser, a sound console and her electric violin for company. Her main medium is speech. What we hear is asentially a monologue, a ecture, underpinned by a steady tream of synthesised sound and nterrupted by Bach-like violin horales, amplified native American chants and the

occasional song. On another level, The Speed Of Darkness expands her previous material. The techno-hell of the US, that bleak, Oedipal vision of America as a crushing, naternal force, is extended to include global technocracy. The piece is an apocalyptic joke, envisioning the end of the world as we know it. Technology relentiessly destroys human nature and blurs individual Satellite link-ups obviate the

need for personal contact. The person on the other end of the Internet is a mysterious stranger. We have returned to a primitive culture based on hunting and gathering, she claims, but what we now hunt and gather is information. The riffs allude to The Doors (The End, retroactively haunted by the napalm flares of Coppola's Apocalypse Now) and Jean-Michel Jarre's eco-conscious Zoolook (for which Anderson provided the vocals),



Laurie Anderson, perpetrator and victim

The disturbing frony, which Anderson exploits to the limit, is that her excorlation of technology is constantly undercut by her reliance on it. Simplified though her act may be, it is still

ics. Her grotesque vision of cybersex — people in rubber fetishwear, wired to electrodes, getting off on computer generated porn — is followed by a joiting, gender-bending colloquy between her cool New York self the microphone into an aggressive, masculine, Midwest drawl. She envisions a culture in

which all human experience can be controlled by the flick of a switch - yet one false move, one wrongly thrown switch, would silence her own voice for ever.

It's in her ability to portray herself as both perpetrator and victim of the nightmare she describes that Anderson's genius as an artist lies. It's powerful stuff, linking accessibility with profundity. This may be the best Meltdown to date.



Can Jane Eyre Be Happy? More

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

"Our motives", she says, "were hu

That was not, of course, how the

authorities saw it. Nor, to be fair, is

manitarian, not political"

Passages from India

James Wood

The Vintage Book of Indian Writing 1947-1997 Edited by Salman Rushdle and Elizabeth West Vintage 578pp £7.99

#HY does the following comic sentence seem so Indian (at least, to a non-Indian)? "When he got home, he mixed and drank some Maclean's Brand Stomach Powder, undressed, got into bed and read some Epictetus." There is the salad of different registers, the Maclean's Stomach Powder mixed with Epictetus; there is the mock-heroic solemnity of the man described, his striving respect for the classical author (only in a periphery, a place far from the centre of power, would reading Epictetus be such an important rite); there is the rationed democracy of the sentence, whereby the man's aspirations are simultaneously sympa-thised with and mocked; there is the verbal exactness, the gong-like plac-

Peter Stanford

Heinemann 502pp £16.99

MANY moons ago when I used to work at the Catholic Her-

ald, a reader sent in a series of pho-

tographs taken of his sitting room

floor during and after it had been

DIY page, but the accompanying let-

ter explained that the Virgin Mary

had appeared in silliouette on the

planks. The snaps were the proof.

Except that I couldn't see anything

other than a nice grain in the pine.

worried for a few minutes that

might be dismissing the next Lour-

des phenomenon, then dictated a

polite but firm no-thank-you letter

Perhaps I should have kept

copies so that Mike Dash could add

tle. It was pointing at a flower bed at

the time, but took on a life of its

own, clicked twice and produced strange images of Christ in the

Dash, publisher of the Fortean

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and returned the material.

stripped. The paper didn't boast a

The Caves of the Sun

Cape 312pp £17.99

by Adrian Bailey

Borderlands

by Mike Dash

Bunkum and beyond

ing of "Epictetus" at the very end of the sentence; and there is the literary, rather formal, modelled feel of the comedy itself — here is a writer who knows his Sterne and Pope, his Gogol and Joyce.
VS Naipaul is its author; he is de-

scribing Mr Biswas's earnest bouts f self-education, far from London (his quarry) in Trinidad. Naipaul, according to a glancing comment in Salman Rushdie's introduction, asked to be excluded from this anthology. But the spirit of his comedy s everywhere in this book: over the 50 years of writing gathered here by Rushdie and Elizabeth West, the mild, harassed, panting comic vision of Mr Biswas begins to seem one of the true achievements of Indian fiction in English, Early in the anthology, for instance, we came across a story by Saadat Hasan Manto. The story is about the violent partition of India; comedy licks at the edges even of this tragedy:

was later found lying on the floor unconscious." Again one notes the staged, formal quality of this comedy: this is not just comedy about histrionics, but a comedy that is it self theatrical. Often in this marvellous book one discovers examples of Naipaul's doubleness, a comic sympathy on the part of the author which is also briskly satirical.

In Upamanyu Chatterjee's excellent story, "The Assassination of Indira Gandhi", a drop of comedy finds its way into a moment of menace: a Sikh family hear that Mrs Gandhi has been shot by her Sikh servants, and that anti-Sikh riots have begun. The father, Mr Kairon, ventures nervously to the local shop: "The grocer said, very gravely, Kairon Saab, your people ought not to have done this,' and overcharged him just a little." One notes the delightful precision of

'very gravely" in that sentence. Again and again, it is verbal fastidiousness of this kind that is the key to Indian comedy in English. For many Indian novelists, language is one of their fictional subjects: taking his bath, raised the slogan 'Pakistan Zindabad' with such encompounds of Anglo-Indian speech

thusiasm that he lost his footing and | into a modernist project in Mid- | novel-extracts, and some are we night's Children. In the sublime passage from A Suitable Boy, Vikram Seth uses a local poetry meeting to burlesque pompous, high-flown Anglo-Indian. Such an interest i everywhere in Indian fiction.

These novelists see that the comic mutilation of language — parody, misuse, solecism - is part of its necessary literary evolution. It is only through abuse that there is advance: this may explain the general air of tolerance in Indian comedy.

The danger of Indian writing l this same volubility. Too much of it becomes slapstick. In his introduction, Rushdie mentions the influence of the writer G V Desani and his 1948 novel All About H Hatter, particularly for his zany and twirling prose. But to judge from the long extract here. Desani's prose is unbearably feverish. It says much about Rushdie's powers, stylistically and creatively, that Desani now reads like a grotesque parody of It would be difficult for this book,

which crosses so much terrain, not

If you would like to order this book to have a few pebbles caught in its at the special price of £6.99 contact heel. There are failures. In general, CultureShop (see below) the stories are weaker than the

Crace succeeds, if idiosyntr

bative dialogues with a devil who

There is no narrative, no 5.

pense, no surprise — it's as fame

as a Sunday school lesson and all

has going for it is Mailer's overgr

ering rhetorle and macho inte

tions. No one does it better, but

this subject matter it simply does

work. Quarantine does.

thoroughly out-argued.

slight - surprisingly, Anita Design is one. More generally, it would have been nice, for once, to have a book that did not elasticate the idea of fiction by including extracts from travel books and speeches, as this one does, and then call this dust-"writing". But there is no way in which a book that includes ficing by the cleanly talented Amit Charlhuri; by Vikram Chandra; by the first novelist Arundhati Roy (s lovely blend of Rushdie and Jord; and lingering non-fiction by San Sa leri and Amitav Ghosh - could me ally stray from the marvellous. Infa surges in this book - monsoon tamarind trees, dust, advertise

ments, hot politics, and larguage, language, language. The non-lide British reader sees that Indian will ers have managed to purchase at exquisite and necessary estrage ment from their native land, so the all its textures seem to from strangely to them. That is some thing non-estranged contempora British writing must still learn.

cally. Mailer fails so flamboyant that one has to love the old boy for trying. He tells the Son's story and biographically — an advertisence for Himself. Mailer's Son is a ma ter-camenter who writes like a certain master novelist. He is b weak-bladdered wimp. He refite the "fictions" of the evangelist 'who gave me words i never utes and described me as gentle what was pale with rage". What the b. do these bozos ("fishermen", i Christ's sake) know about with stories? Several chapters are god over to the 40 days in the wilder ness. But Mailer's Son drinks of the first thing they do when they meet is try to find out." ously, and merely purifies himas a kind of boxer's training force

(BFI Film Classics, £6.99)

ERY good on the history of the film's production, its reception and its context in terms of Hollywood. Not so good in exegesis. Drummond would appear to be in thrall to the kind of academic idiolect which is an aid to anti-thought and brings on the dry heaves. Chap-ter headings include "Sexual Politics", "Differing the Western" and Femininities". A publicity shot of the our main actors is subtitled "Gender conography". No, please, uurgh.

Mystery Train, by Greil Marcus

his might even be his best book.

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Sister of mercy

Chris Mullin

Puzzies in Classic Fiction, by John Sutherland (Oxford No Faith in the System Norid's Classics, £4.99) by Sister Sarah Clarke Mercler Press 216pp 29.99.

FUNNY, you think, that this is published by OUP's World's Classics series; can it be afforded such status on only its first printing? This is a bit of sly marketing from Oxford, encouraging us to buy their ditions. Professor Sutherland hit on the idea with Is Heathcliff a Murderer?, to which this is a sequel. The title should explain it all — it's a way of getting us to read texts closely again by asking us whether the authors screwed up with their continuity or not. On the whole, the authors are vindicated. This time round, the questions are; where does Fanny Hill keep her contracentives? Why was Fagin hanged? Is Daniel Deronda circumcised? Why does Robinson Crusoe only see one footprint, and why isn't it washed away? You get the idea.

The Neanderthal Enigms: Solving the Mystery of Modern Human Origins, by James Shreeve (Penguin, £8.99)

THE great thing about not being a scientist is that you do not have to get into fights with other scientists; and one of the most enertaining of this book's sub-plots ronically enough, since it deals with race popularly imagined as beetlebrowed savages bashing each other over the head with clubs - is that of the intense and sometimes vio ent rivalry between people with different opinions about Neanderthals. Were they like us? Were they dumb? Smart? Who knows? Great book, though. Good line: "One thing you can count on with humans whether they can interbreed or not,

ligh Noon, by Phillip Drummond

THE book you should get to keep Marcus's new book about Dylan ompany. This one deals with Sly Stone, Randy Newman, The Band and, of course, Elvis; as well as Harmonica Frank, who might have invented rock 'n' roll, only no one's d of him. Regular readers will know how much reverence I have for Marcus (I seem to have inadveruntly named my son after him.)

While for details or sould your manuscript to

sisted on finger-printing her. This despite the fact that she was almost blind and in her mid-70's.

NYONE who has taken as interest in the celebrated interest in the celebrated miscarriages of justice that rocked the British establishment

For years she has been a familia face on the fringe of many of the big terrorist trials, ferrying bewildered relatives between airports, courts and maximum security prisons. Taking food parcels to remand prisoners, finding lawyers, fixing up accommodation, lobbying relentlessly to mitigate the excesses perpetrated by the British state in the name of combating terrorism.

MI5 there will be a thick file on the activities of this subversive little nun. Although, as she says, she has never knowingly broken any law or prison regulation, she is forbidden to visit, and in some cases even to correspond with, most of the prisoners she has done so much to help.

Three years ago, following the by Special Branch officers who in- | Sister Sarah . . . humanity that cannot avoid the political

Ireland into another culture and another age. "Our heroes weren't pop stars. They were saints." At the age of 20 she went into a convent where the regime resembled that of a maximum security prison. Liberation came with transfer to England and, ncredibly, enrolment as a student at

five years ago will know of Sister Sarah Clarke.

Somewhere deep in the bowels of

escape of several IRA men from Whitemoor prison, she was visited Sarah Clarke was born in rural

signed up.

Catholic Church), Sister Sarah In the 1970s, after IRA bomb started going off in England, Sister Sarah, together with several coura geous Catholic priests in Ireland, started doing what she could to assist the families of those arrested in

vention of Terrorism Act and on the terrible death of Giuseppe Conlon.

the Chelsea School of Art. It was a | connection with the bombings time of the Beatles, free love, the Second Vatican Council - and the Civil Rights Movement in Ireland. With the permission of her superiors (who seem to have been more enlightened than just about every one else she came across in the

t strictly true. Every page of this book reeks of politics. And why not? No discussion of Ireland or its corrupting effect on the British crimid justice system can avoid politics. The book is replete with graphic examples of the crucity and humilia ion casually meted out to guilty and muocent alike -- and to their families. There are excellent chapters on the devastating impact of the Pre-

> what passes for British justice. It is a powerful story. If I have any quarrel with Sister Sarah, it is that her book would have benefited from a few robust paragraphs on the wickedness of placing bombs in public places, whatever the cause. An equally harrowing account could be written of the impact on the lives of people, English and Irish, by the bombs placed by some of the young men and women whom Sister Sarah helped in their bour of need

which finally caused the outside

world to take a closer interest in

Chris Mullim is MP for Sunderland South His book Error Ot Judgement: The Truth About the Birmingham Bombings was updated and reissued in paperback earlier this year (Poolbeg, £0.59).

Rimbaud the wanderer

Somebody Else, Arthur Rimbaud in Africa 1880-91 by Charles Nicholi Cape 335pp £18.99

THERE is no one here and yet I there is someone," wrote Arthur Rimbaud in his poem, "Nuit de l'Enfer". The paradox is appropriate. Rimbaud's short but restlessly eventful life was a series of lisappearances and identity shifts. A schoolboy poet of bewildering genius, Rimbaud abandoned literature at the age of 20 in favour of other métiers: mercenary, trader, gun-runner, photographer, circus cashier,

scientist and foreign correspondent. From his first teenage wander ings. Rimbaud was a man in flight "freer than the freest", in the words of his one-time lover, the poet Paul Verlaine. Rimbaud's peregrinations took him to Java, Cyprus, the Cape and Abyssinia as well as Europe.

Charles Nicholl's fascinating new book concentrates on the last third of Rimbaud's life; the so-called wilderness years in East Africa and Arabia between 1880 and 1891. These are far less familiar than the poet's scandalous European adolescence: the absinthe, the visionary poems, the affair with Verlaine, the iresomely thuggish behaviour. Rimbaud the poet was a destructive piece of work: mad, bad and very ous to know

The African years are difficult to reconstruct and have been soarsely treated by Rimbaud's biographers. Today in Harar, Rimbaud's East African base, the poet is frequently confused with Sylvester Stallone's Rambo. Nicholl's skill as a literary gumshoe, sharpened in previous books on Marlowe and Raleigh, is well suited to the lack of evidence. Part travel book, part history and supposition, his book uses mem oirs, reports, diaries and Rimbaud's surprisingly unimaginative letters to

This is not a study of the poems, but Nicholl introduces them skil fully as a gloss on the life. They certainly provide relief from the correspondence, a litary of whinges and peremptory demands: "People

who keep on saying that life is hard should come and spend a bit of time out here, to take a lesson in philosophy." As Albert Camus commented, the legend of Rimbaud the mystic poet cannot withstand the impact of

Though he moaned, about the heat, the food, the boredom and the natives, Rimbaud was anything but inactive. He was a breathless autodidact. He mastered Arabic, as he had several other languages. He also went off "trafficking in the unknown", enduring long and potentially fatal trips as a trader and gun-runner

Africa changed Rimbaud. Gone was the sneering, blue-eyed boypoet, replaced by the raconteur, the sinessman and the traveller what Nicholl calls a "luminous ordinariness". News of his growing literary fame in Paris was an irrelevance. He had ceased to be a poet.

Africa also killed him. He was old and grey-haired at 32, and suffered repeatedly from fever, malaria, exhaustion, dysentery, rheumatism and, like any self-respecting French poet, syphllis (which almost certainly caused the synovitis which led to his leg being amputated in a ay. He alco after months of grounded frustration, followed by acute pain and finally delirium.

Rimbaud's fear of stasis never left him. I should like to wander over the face of the whole world," he told his sister, Isobelle, "then perhaps I'd find a place that would please me a little." The tragedy of Rimbaud's later life, superbly chronicled by Nicholl, is that he never really did.

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £14.99 tempt the writer from the shadows. | contact CultureShop (see page 28)

Agent of lost politik

Richard Norton-Taylor

Man Without a Face: The Mernoirs of a Spyrnaster by Markus Wolf, with Anne McElvoy Cape 367pp £17.99

SHORTLY after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, Markus Wolf East Germany's notorious intelligence chief, received a visit from a senior minister in the newly-elected | matic Social Democrat chancellor caretaker government in East Germany. He was offered immunity from prosecution in return for revealing the names of his agents in the West. "I'll leave it to others to do the betraying", Wolf replied.

Wolf was then approached by two senior CIA officers. He was offered sanctuary in California in return for spilling the beans on East German and Russian agents in the US. Six years later, he was refused a US visa on the grounds that he had dealt

with terrorists. There are echoes here of how British and US intelligence agencies recruited former Nazis after the second world war to help them fight the new enemy, communism. But Wolf turned down the CIA's offer as well. In 1993, he was convicted of treason and espionage. "Which country was I supposed to have be-trayed?", he asked. It was a good

question. Two years later, the German constitutional court cleared him on the grounds that as a citizen y, ne could not nav betrayed West Germany, then a foreign country. But German prosecutors fought back and in May the man who ran hundreds of agents for 34 years was convicted of kidnapping and given a two-year sus-

This charming, manipulative "man without a face", so-called beause for 20 years the West had no photograph of him, succeeded in chieving almost cult status, in the West as well as the East. The reason is clear. "If I go down in espionage history, it may well be for perfecting

neikled prison septence.

the use of sex in spying", he says, referring to his Romeo spies - the male counterparts to Mata Hari who would seduce impressionable for male secretaries in key positions in the West German government

One of his greatest coups was the ecruitment of Gunter Guillaume. who became one of Willy Brandt's closest advisers and whose arrest led to the downfall of the charisand architect of West Germany's Ostpolitik, of detente with the Fast Wolf now describes the Guillaume case as a great defeat. "Our role i bringing down Brandt", he says, was equivalent to kicking a football

into our own goal." Wolf confirms that Britain relied on West German intelligence services' intercepts during the Falk lands war - they were the only ones able to decode Argentina's radio traffic. There are insights into how the Stasi, East Germany's state security apparatus, operated, and

into its relations with Moscow. But this is a disingenuous and curiously disappointing book. Time and again, Wolf distances himself from his boss. Erich Mielke. I considered my own work in foreign intelligence to be a separate and more defensible sphere of activity, but could not help but be ashamed at the brutal tactics against internal opposition and those whose only desire was to leave the country", he

EN

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Wolf ends by insisting he has not lost his faith in Marxism. The evidence of the preceding 300-odd pages suggests he lost it years ago.

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ous century — plus brief summings up at the end of each section. After 500 pages, you end up breathless. disorientated and suspecting that you're the last sane being on earth. Except Dash that is. For he makes it very plain with a minimun of adjectives sprinkled around the text that he considers most of the claims he has reported to be - in

"One day a Muslim lunatic, while

ful and enthralling inventory of odd

happenings around the globe. De-tall is all and commentary is mini-

mal, just the occasional sentence linking one incident with another —

on the next continent, in the previ-

one of Ann Widdecombe's favourite phrases - bunkum. He does, however, sit on the fence. There may be something in it, he says, but it must be taken with a huge dose of salt.

In mirroring what is probably most neople's stance on UFOs. bizarre sightings and things that go bump in the night, Dash's book should have you sitting on the edge of your seat yet leave you reassured enough to sleep at night. But somehow it just doesn't work. You are never sure whether the author is them to his unique archive of the extraordinary, alongside the 1926 trying to write one of those maver photographs from the collection of ick, encyclopedic and best-selling Sir Arthur Conan Doyle that he prespiritual and historical quests that always include the pyramids and the sents in Borderlands. These had been taken involuntarily by the cam-Knights Templar, or whether he is era of one Mildred Swanson in Seat-

conducting a proper scholarly investigation into that grey area that he defines as the "borderlands" between reality and fiction. Adrian Bailey certainly cannot be accused of lacking focus or a theory to promote. His Caves Of The Sun explores the origins of mythology on, has raided the back-numbers for from the cave paintings of Neanderthal man, through the pagans of Stonehenge, the Greeks, the Romans and every other race that ever

Times, chronicle of strange goings-Borderlands. The result is a colourwalked this planet, to the current day. Again there is a wealth of material, but here the touch is heavier, with Bailey's pet theory that an obsession with water and the sun lies

behind the symbolism of most myths set out at regular intervals. Of the two, Dash's text is by far the more engaging and entertaining because its tales are full of human interest. But Caves Of The Sun does challenge you to look afresh at some of the most mundane customs, language and rituals that are still part of our world.

According to Jim and Norm

John Sutherland

Quarantine by Jim Crace Viking 243pp £16.99

The Gospel According to the Son ov Norman Maller S edition: Random House 242pp \$22.00 (published in the UK on

September 18 by Little, Brown) OVELISTS, egotists all, yearn to novelise the gospels. Among those who have tried: Dickens, D H Lawrence, Nikos Kazantzakis. Coincidentally two living novelists - old lion Norman Mailer and rising star

the greatest story ever told. A brief survey suggests that the Islamic mullahs are wise to prohibit, on pain of death and banishment from Paradise, any such retelling. What goes in is Gospel, what comes out is double-distilled. The gospels according to Jim and Norm are

optic source.

comically different from each other and seriously, not to say blasphemously, different from their syn-Crace concentrates his narrative on one of the more enigmatic episodes in the gospel narrative — Christ's 40 days in the wilderness. But novels have chronic problems with miraculous narrative: the medium instinctively humanises the

medical opinion: "An ordinary man of average weight and fitness embarking on a total fast . . . could not expect to live for more than thirty days, nor to be conscious for more than twenty-five." How, then, did Jesus ever get started on his saviour-of-the-world career? Crace's Jesus is a "boy", a weak-

bladdered, under-size dreamer. He undertakes his 40-day retreat, or quarautine, in company with three lewish zealots (a dying man, a barren woman, a mystic) and their Bedouin guide. For them, quarantine means fasting during the hours of daylight. For our hero, Gally, the

fast is total. Their path crosses with that of a Jim Crace — have decided to retell pagan, and wonderfully mercenary. merchant, Musa, who has been left for dead. Gully comes on the appar ently dying trader and matters "Be well again" — a common greeting for the sick. "Miraculously" Musa does recover and is incorporated into Gally's hallucinations (not visions) as the devil, offering food,

Son of God. Quarantine pivots on a set of hinted rationalist objections.

drink, and wealth, By glossing the biblical "fast" into total abstention from food and finally — a beautifully elegant and rationally satisfying explanation of how the Christ-cult originates.



Badger among the bluebells

N THE west the drizzle blurred the dark bulk of Criffel mountain. Way to the south, across the Solway Firth, I could see great black ranges of cloud slowly engulfing the Lake District. It was foul weather and as I entered a small wooded vale in southwest Scotland I was enveloped by its gloom.

All the way down the wood's steep banks was a covering of bluebells. Earlier in the spring they would have formed a luxurious mauve carpet, but the flowers had now long since withered and the plants had been converted by prolonged rain to a treacherous greasy mat. I slithered to a clearing where a group of elms had succumbed to Dutch elm disease. Although their skeletons still stood there was no canopy, and the evening light had proken in to scoop out a murky glade within the woodland's deeper

It was just enough to illuminate the surroundings. I could make out, for instance, the wood's dominant mix of sessile oak, hazel and ash. Many of the trees had also been coppiced — cut down at the base and then allowed to regrow as a spray of smaller trunks. This technique was the basis of broadleavedwoodland management from the time of the Saxons. Today, unfortunately it only survives in rare cases, since most of our wood and timber requirements are met by sterile, regimented plantations of conifer, which now blanket much of the

This spot typified those changes in woodland practice. It had probably not been coppleed since the second world war, although the thickness of some of the remaining oak stools suggested that it may well have been a working wood before the French Revolution. There were also other compelling signs of its age, but they had not been created by humans. For this narrow across, was a badger wood, and deep scratch marks. On others



they were the reason for my visit on such a disagreeable evening.

On the far slope I could see their sett - an elaborate complex of tunnels which had as many as a dozen different entrances. From these, over the decades, the badgers have excavated great mounds of earth and on top again they had heaped an assortment of old bracken fronds, twigs and bluebells stalks which had served them as bedding. Then from the sett radiated numerous clearly defined paths that eventually subdivided into

lesser trails. At intervals along them I could make out more precise evidence of nightly forays. Beneath a large holly were the shallow pits that serve them as a latrine. Elsewhere the bluebells had been grubbed out where an individual had snuffled for copse, no more than 200 metres | worms. On some tree roots were |

there were wisps of grizzled hair. These details suggested their most recent activities but it also gave insights into a deeper past — a relaionship between the dale, its trees and its badgers that has possibly continued unbroken for hundreds

Then one of them popped into view. It trundled down a steep bank owards the stream, its coat dank and flattened to the body by rain. It paused briefly to roll a piece of wood in its forepaws and then van-

ished from sight.

Later, through the drizzle and gloom, I could hear the beast clattering around in an old refrigerator that had been dumped in the wood bottom. An interest in wildlife is never just about success, and despite enduring two more evenings of incessant midges and summer rain, those brief experiences were to be our only apparent reward.

Chess Leonard Barden

A THALFWAY in the Leigh circuit, Britain's individual league for congress players, three grandmasters are in serious contention for the main award, the £3,000 Grand Prix. Mark Hebden took the lead at Hastings and Southend, but the Sutton-based Croatian Bogdan Lalic has almost caught up by

winning at Waisall and Aintree. Hebden has the best chance, because Lalic rarely wins tournaments with maximum points while Michael Adams in third place will have the new knockout Fide world championship as his year-end priority. But if you play in congresses, watch Lalic's games, which are often easy to inderstand with a subtle harmony of strategy and tactics. This win is from Aintree, the only chess congress in the world played on a racecourse.

e4 c5 2 Nf3 d6 3 d4 cxd4 4 10 Qe1 b5 11 e5? White's 6 f4 formation against the 5 . . . a6 Najdorf Sicilian normally plans an attack by Qh4, f5 and Bh6, so

dxe5 12 fxe5 Ng4 13 c6 fxc6 14 Qe4 If 14 Qxe6 Nde5 15 Qd5 Bb7 harasses the queen, but material stays level. Instead, White goes for an illusory rook-knight fork. Qa7+ 15 Kh1 Ngf6 16 Qh4

Nc5 17 Be3 Qc7 18 Bf4 Qb7 19 Rad1 0-0 20 Bh6 Nxd3 21 cxd3 Nh5 22 Bxg7 Rf4! Gaining time to double rooks.

25 Ne2 Rt5 26 Qe3 Bd7 27 Ned4 Rf6 Black's extra doubled pawn blends well with Lalic's occupation of key light squares. White sources, so 28 Nc5l is now the best way to resist rather than trying to

28 Ng5? Raf8 29 Rxf6 exf6!

D Tebb v B Lalic

Nxd4 Nf6 5 Nc3 a6 6 f4 Qc7 7 Nf3 Nbd7 8 Bd3 g6 9 0-0 Bg7 advancing the e pawn is premature.

23 Qg5 Kxg7 24 Qe5+ Kg8 should sink his own knights on dark

30 Ne4 A sorry retreat, but if 30 Ngxe6 Re8 31 Nc5 Qd5 32 Nc4

Oxa2 (simpler than (5 33 Nc3) and Rlack is a nawn up again.

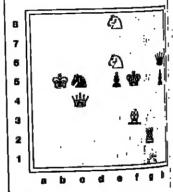
e5 31 Nb3 Qd5 32 Rc1 N4 33 Rc7 f5 34 Nbc5 fxe4 35 Rxd7 Nxd3! A neat finishing touch. If 36 Rxd5 Rf1+ 37 Qg1 N2

36 Kg1 Qxc5 37 Rxd3 Qc2 38 Resigna

Susan Lalic, meanwhile, who has won the women's Prixette 10 times, is finding it harder this year against the teenage talents Ruth Sheldon and Harriet But. And elsewhere, Luke McShane, the world's youngest IM at 13, lends the Junior Prix, though I expect Scotland's Jonathan towson to win.

But the most competitive event of all is the Leigh Amateur Prix for grading-limited tournments, in which 20,000 UK players take part each year. The top score so far is a modest 72 per cent, as against the 95 per cent usually needed for the life. Any Guardian reader who plays in congresses and aims for maimum points in each tournament has a real chance.

No 2480



White mates in two mor igainst any defence (by FW Wynne, 1903). Wynne was an unknown, but his clever solution won a first prize.

No 2479: 1 . . . Qe2 2 Qt4 Qxf1+3 Kh2 and mates by 4 Qxg6 or 3 . . . g5 4 Qf5.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Cricket Third Test: England v Australia

Australia square series

Mike Selvey at Old Trafford

ROVIDED the weather held up there was never any doubt that Australia, having done the hard work on Sunday evening, would wrap up victory in this match. indeed, lunch was still half an hour away when Andrew Caddick, after some defiant blows, flicked a tame catch to mid-on to concede defeat by 268 runs.

All out for 200, of which John Crawley made 83 before stepping on his stumps, England had lost their remaining five wickets in less than 23 overs for the addition of 70 runs. They were hustled out not by Shane Warne, as might have been expected on a dry, wearing pitch. but by another cracking display of aggressive, in-your-face pace bowling from Glenn McGrath. The two bowled unchanged on Monday.

The defeat was cataclysmic, but not as bad as the 329-run walloping inflicted in Perth the last time England lost an Ashes Test nor the 295run indignity inflicted in Melbourne carlier in that series. It brought to an end an unbeaten England run of seven matches.

England are essentially resilient and make life tougher for the opposition than once they might, so although Australia left Manchester on a high note — odds-on now to keep the Ashes, according to the bookies - they know that the situation can change in no time. These remain two well-matched outfits, with Steve Waugh, an inevitable Man of the Match, the difference this time.

McGrath, though, was superb. Bowling from the Stretford End, he found his rhythm more effectively than at any time in the game and took the first four wickets to fall. Had he not encountered one of umpire Venkataraghavan's more inscrutable shakes of the head in esponse to a confident leg-before appeal against Caddick he would have had the full house. Instead the coup de grace was left to Warne, and McGrath walked off with the wickets of Mark Ealham, Robert Croft, Frawley and Darren Gough, His fig-

remarkable 18 in the series so far. But nobody, least of all McGrath and Jason Gillespie, who knocked the top off the innings on Sunday, could fail to acknowledge the influence exerted by the genius at the other end. Warne's second-innings three for 63 was not the carnage that many anticipated after his sixwicket first-innings haul but he preyed on the mind. Whether or not aking wickets, he always represents

Only Mark Butcher, who played him off the pitch, Crawley, who tends to read him from the hand, and to some extent Ealham, who appears unsure which way to handle him but hangs in there anyway, played Warne with anything like confidence.

Crawley produced his best in nings for England. On the fourth day he had reached 53, profiting from some wayward wrist spin from Michael Bevan, whose place must be in jeopardy after further indifferent batting. He had taken the seventh-wicket partnership with Ealham to 74 before McGrath, in his fifth over of Monday morning. struck the first blow, Ealham's edge flying low to Ian Healy, who just got a glove under the ball to pull off a stunning catch.

McGrath then proceeded to give poor Crost such a working-over once more that one fears for the Glamorgan man's safety in the Caribbean this winter. The catch he prodded to backward short leg was

All the time, though, Crawley was making jaunty progress, three times hitting Warne to the boundary. He had a century in his sights when he pushed McGrath into the covers and in pushing off for a run caught his off stump with his right heel. First Atherton at Lord's and now Crawley; England have been haemorrhaging wickets lately without giving them away like this.

Rain and bad light cut the open-ing day's play by 21 overs, but failed to prevent Steve Waugh from reaching his first century of the tour. Dean Headley's first appearance for



McGrath celebrates as Crawley steps on his stumps TOM JENNINS

tion dynasty. He marked his debut by removing all three left-handers in the Australian top order. Waugh was out on the second day for 108 and Australia's first innings

closed on 235. England were quickly in trouble once Warne cast his sorcerer's spell. Only Butcher offered any resistance with 51. England ended the day on 161 for 8. The tourists dominated the third day completely, first by dismissing

ts No 1 driver and also a share-

holder in the enterprise alongside

the team's sponsor, British-Ameri

can Tobacco, and Adrian Renard,

who founded the company in 1975.

the home side with the addition of only one run to the overnight total and then going on to make 262 for 6. Taylor declared on 395 for 8 on Sunday, Steve Waugh having completed his second century, and had England in trouble for a second time wres of four for 46 in the innings, England gave Test cricket, now in with Warne and Gillespie in devas-gave him seven in the match and a its 121st year, its first three-generatating form.

Scoreboard

AUSTRALIA First innings M A Taylor o Thorpe b Headley M A Taylor of Thorpe b Headley
M T G Elliott o Stewart b Headley
G S Blewett b Gough
M E Waugh of Stawart b Eathern
S R Waugh b Gough
M G Bevan of Stawart b Headley
A Healey of Stawart b Headley
E K Marge of Stawart b Falley S K Warne c Stewart b Eethar P R Reiffel b Gough J N Gillespie c Stowart b Heed G D McGrath not out

Bowling: Gough 21-7-52-3; Headley 27.3-4-72-4; Caddick 14-2-52-1; Eathern 11-2-34-2; Croft 4-0-13-0.

First innings M A Buildier at Healy & Bevan M A Atherton o Healy b McGrat J Stewart o Taylor b Warne Hussain c Heaty b Warn J P Crawley o Healy b Warre M A Eatharn not out D8 Croft c S Wough b McGraft Gough low b Wa R Coddick c M E Warryti b Warrio D W Hoadloy b McGrath

Bowling: McGrath 23 4-9-40-3; Roffel 9-3-14-0; Warne 30-14-48-6; Gflosple 14-3-39-0;

AUSTRALIA Second Innings MTG Ellott c Butcher b Headley A Taylor c Butcher b Heartley 3 S Blowelt c Hussam b Croft 4 E Waugh b Eaham A Healy c Bulcher b Circle S F. Warne & Stewart b Caddick R Relifel not cul Extras (b), lb13, rb8

Total (for 8 dec., 122 overs) Bowling: Gough 20-3 82-0, Heartey 29-4-104-4, Croft 39-12-105-2; Eatham 13-3-41-1 Caddick 21-0-89-1.

Second innings
M A Butcher c McGrath b Gillespe M A Atherton low b Gillespie J Stewart b Warne Hussein flow b Gillesole N Hussein town o Gilleapte G P Thorpe c Healy b Warne J P Crawley hit wicket b McGrath M A Eatham c Healy b McGrath R Croft c Relife b McGrath Gough b McGrath Caddick c Gillespie b Warne W Headley not out

Bowling: McGrath 21-4-46-4; Reffel 2-0-8-0; Warne 30.4-8-63-3; Gillespie 12-4-31-3; Bevan 8-2-34-0.

ustralia won by 268 runa

F1 world championship. He will be

years ago, had a \$1 million offer urned down by the board.

WIM JANSEN, the former Holland and Feyenoord midfielder, became Celtic's highest-paid coach when the joined the Glasgow club last week. Two months after the manager Tommy Burns left Parkhead, Jansen, aged 53, accepted a three-year performancerelated contract worth upwards of \$1.65 million a year.

WILSON KIPKETER, the disaf-fected Kenyan who now runs for Denmark, equalled Sebastian Coc's 16-year-old world record in the 800 metres in Stockholm.

their way in Wonderland Robert Armstrone in Johannesburg

Rugby Union

Lions lose

"HE third Test resembled one of those TV quiz shows in vhich everyone wins a prize rrespective of how well or how badly they perform. The Springboks won plaudits for blowing away the Lions 35-16; the Lions captain Martin Johnson was given a glitzy trophy for winning the series 2-1; and the raucous British support ers carned brownie points for

unswerving commitment. In the Alice in Wonderland atmosphere that held a crowd of 61,000 in thrall at Ellis Park it would not have been surprising to see a Mad Hatter's award to those Lions who abandoned all pretence of discipline, pursued their own version of the Eton Wall Game and made disastrous errors that handed victory to the Springboks on a plate. Amid the general cuphoria that dominated the closing stages of their 13match tour the Lions should not forget they came within a point of a record Test defeat.

But a series win is a series win even if the Boks did finish with nine tries to three and 66 points to 59 over the three Tests. When the Lions arrived here the bookmakers were offering odds of 5-1 against them winning a Test, never mind the series. No one would have put money on

them winning 11 matches, "Gaining respect was a theme tried to convey to the players," said Ian McGeechan, the coach, who has won five out of nine Lions Tests in the past nine years. "We stopped South Africa playing in areas where they expected to have an advantage and. I think, our players also moved up two gears. It was important that we had respect for South Africa, its rugby and its players right through the squad. If we had taken enything for granted we would have been finished."

Ironically the Lions did appear to assume they could fling the ball about at Ellis Park without having established a platform of control against a Springbok pack that played out of its collective skin. The predictable outcome was that the tight Lions defence that dogged out a win in the first two Tests struggled to keep its shape and finally collapsed, conreding 15 points in the final

The Springboks went 13-0 ahead in only 17 minutes and, though Nell Jenkins clawed back hosts surged 23-9 in front after the break, Gary Telchmann's men, unlike the Lions, showing every sign of being able to score tries with the same directness hey had displayed in Cape Town and Durban.

For their part the Lions found it a great deal harder to develop through successive phases of attack than to defend in depth and, even though they did get back to 23-16 with a superb try by Matt Dawson, the Springboks still had plenty in reserve with which to close out the match.

Quick crossword no. 374

Fish-hawk (6) 4 Grate predicament (6) 8 Hit - nell (5) 9 Feast (7) 10 Commonplace 11 Penetrate (5) 12 13 14 12 The Rock (9) 17 Male relative (5)

19 Make the most of — an adventure (7) 21 Persevere (7)

Across

22 Rise - and dress (3-2) 23 Prize (6) 24 Faithless -

erroneous (6) Down

1 Busy — tenant 2 Lengthen (7) 3 Additional (5) 5 Capacity — to

please (7)

13 Defect (7) Last week's solution 14 Cockerel (7) DRIBSANDDRABE
BAFROTURE
I ORKA BE
MALEVOLENT
BON BE
CLARET PEDANT
COMMERCIAL
L O CR N
PLEASURE BOG 15 Church rostrum 16 Russian plain (6 18 Freight (5) 20 Heathen (5)

Bridge Zia Mahmood

PLAY most of my tournament bridge in the US, and for the past seven years I have played in major events with Seymon Deutsch, Michael Rosenberg, Chip Martel and Lew Stansby. Seymon is a close friend, and his story is as close to a fairy tale as you will find in bridge. He renewed his passion for the game after an absence of 20 years and went on to play in three world-ranking events, winning two of them and

finishing second in the third. This year, he will have the chance to leave the game he loves on the highest possible note. Announcing that 1997 would be his last year in team to victory in the American trials for the Bermuda Bowl, the championship of the world. He has the chance, in Tunisia later this year, to become the first player ever to hold the three major world titles concurrently - Rosenblum teams champion. Olympic champion and

world champion.

In the final of the US trials we met the team that has dominated American and world bridge for the past decade and more. Regular readers will know that "Meckwell". as the partnership of Jeff Meckstroth and Eric Rodwell is univer-

sally known, have achieved their phenomenal success in large part because of their highly efficient and scientific bidding methods. It was a shock - though a very pleasant one - when the system ran aground on this deal. Game all, dealer East:

	♥ KQJ65 ♦ Q62		
	A 1084		
West		East ♠AJ97 ♥A8 ♦ 10853 ♣53	
±02	South		
	± Q654		
	♥ 73		
	♦ AK		
	♣ KQJ97	,	
	o hidding		

This was	the bid	ding:	
2 ♣ 3 ♣	Pass Pass Pass Pass	1♥ 2♠²	East Rberg 14 Pass Pass Pass Pass Pass Content

Meckwell use the Precision sporreserving an opening bid of 14 t. show a strong hand and 24 to store six-card sult, so Jeff had to staty." the "catch-all" one diamond open 2 Creating a game force, intendigs support clubs later. 3 A cue bid with clubs egreet trumps.

4 Blackwood, but denying a part control, which would have be shown by a bid of 4. . . . 5 A spade control and one ace... A problem that beself and pairs, the best in the world and them, is that when chibs

ips, it is dangerous to Blackwood when holding ace, since if partner also has one, his response of five diameter will carry the side to too high and This, with a slight variation of what happened here. Though and Eric were able to phopole fact that they controlled the party of the pa

suit, they could not avoid the suit, they could not avoid with six clubs with two aces missing with two aces missing with two aces missing with the club, and account with the club, and the cour destiny will be missing that our destiny will be missing that our destiny will be missing the course of t

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Boardman back from the front

HRIS BOARDMAN of Britain | MIKE TYSON'S purse for the took the second Tour de France | Morid Boxing Association's yellow jersey of his cycling career when he achieved a two-second victory over Jan Ullrich of Germany in the opening prologue time trial at

Ullrich, the 23-year-old German, was 44th of 198 starters and he set a time of 8min 22sec for the 4.5-mile most of the event as one favourite after another failed to match his

Boardman, watched by an estimated crowd of 200,000, started very fast and was two seconds ahead of Ullrich at the three-mile point. He held that advantage all the way to the finishing line.

But the 28-year-old Briton's joy was short-lived as Italy's Mario Cipollini stole a march and the maillot jaune from him at the end of Sunwas no way I was going to be able to take on Cipollini," said Boardman.

In the debut in 1995, vincing visit in a Reybraic was unbeing that their "behaviour was unbeing of Rugby League players".

heavyweight bout in Las Vegas late last month was frozen pending a decision on the disciplinary action he should face after biting the title-holder Evander Holyfield. The Nevada State Athletic Commissioners ordered the promoter Don King to provide a cheque for \$29,824,600 deposited in an account until they have completed their hearing. The 31-year-old Tyson was disqualified in the third round after he bit off part of the 34-year-old champion's right ear.

ACQUES VILLENEUVE is to leave Williams at the end of next season to Join the Reynard grand prix team, the top British IndyCar constructor who will make its Forday's 120-mile first stage. There | mula One debut in 1999. Villeneuve

TEVE COLLINS of Ireland sur-Ovived an early scare before retaining his WBO super-middleweight crown in Glasgow. Collins, defending his title for the seventh time, was floored by American man's resolve and he quickly put his

> I VANO BONETTI: the former Juventus player who left Grimsby in May 1996 after his cheekbone was broken in a dressing-room punch-up with the then manager Brian Laws, has failed again in his bid to buy Grimsby and install himself as its player-manager. Bonettl, who became the first Italian to play in the

opponent down before forcing a

toppage early in the third round.

WIGAN Warriors imposed the maximum club fine of \$800 on Gary Connolly, Martin Hall and Craig Murdock for drunken conduct on the final leg of a flight home from Australia. In a letter the club chairman Jack Robinson told them that their "behaviour was unbecom8 En D

6 Grown-up (5) 7 Whole (6) 9 Romanian capital (9)